The Outlook

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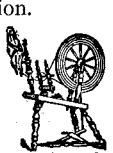

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1905

Chicago's Municipal Ownership Mayor

The people of Chicago for some time have been expressing themselves on abstract referendum propositions as favorable to municipal ownership. At the city election of April 4 they elected an outright municipal ownership man for Mayor. Judge Edward F. Dunne, the Democratic nominee, had a plurality of 24,000 votes over his Republican opponent, John Maynard Harlan. The Socialist candidate for Mayor polled more than twenty thousand votes. There were, of course, considerations aside from the main issue that influenced some voters. Mr. Harlan eight years ago ran for Mayor as an Independent. He and his backers have been identified with the faction of the local Republican party organization, now in the ascendant, that placed Deneen in the Governor's chair last fall. The amount of Republican defection from Mr. Harlan on these grounds was large. Then, too, what is known in city politics as the "liberal" element was largely upon the side of Judge Dunne. The Democratic nominee had not made any special promises of a "wide-open town," nor is Mr. Harlan puritanical. The saloons have never been closed in Chicago on Sunday since 1871, and both candidates announced that they would, if elected, institute no change in this respect. But the so-called "liberal" element appeared, on the one hand, to fear the influence upon Mr. Harlan, with respect to such matters, of his newspaper supporters, and, on the other, to have confidence in the easy-going and accommodating disposition of Judge Dunne. But all such considerations availed less than the sentiment of the voters upon the main issue of the campaign, that of municipal ownership. Judge Dunne boldly occupied the radical position. He was for immediate municipal ownership, with no franchise grants whatever except mere temporary grants or licenses pending the inauguration of municipal ownership. The supporters of Harlan argued that their candidate, while he would not promise so much, could really be depended on to do more for municipal ownership than his opponent; and that he would do much more to improve general administrative efficiency. But the appeal was in vain. Each candidate represented the more progressive wing of his party.

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Judge Dunne's Programme

In the bid for radical support Judge Dunne outdid Mr. Harlan, and as the result of several years of turmoil over the traction question, in which the private companies engaged in the business of transportation have done everything possible to offend public sentiment, the more radical candidate appealed the more strongly to the mass of the voters. On the other hand, the extreme conservatives felt that the election presented small choice to them. Judge Dunne was elected by a decisive plurality. The result is to put an end to all further talk of franchise renewals. Instead, by common consent the city authorities will proceed now to institute municipal ownership of the street-car lines as speedily as possible. Even the element among the Aldermen that has favored a different policy concedes that the new Mayor should be given a chance to put into effect the policy on which he was elected. There is much difference of opinion, however, as to what Judge Dunne can actually accomplish during his coming two year term of office. The task of getting municipal ownership is beset with practical difficulties of the most serious kind, and the better opinion seems to be that municipal ownership cannot be brought about in Chicago within the next two years; that Mayor Dunne can do no more than institute proceedings to that

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end during his present term of office. One of the new Mayor's first acts after his election, and before his inauguration, was to cable the Mayor of Glasgow, Scotland, requesting that the manager of Glasgow's famous municipal tramway system be given a vacation and permission to visit Chicago and advise the officials of that city. The request was immediately granted, and notice to that effect given by cable. Chicago is in a more difficult position than New York as regards the purchase or construction of property for public uses. New York may borrow money up to ten per cent. of the assessed valuation of private real estate, and the assessed valuation is high; Chicago may borrow only up to five per cent., and the assessed valuation is low. The city cannot, therefore, issue bonds for the purchase of the street railways. Judge Dunne's method of meeting this difficulty is ingenious. He proposes to issue "transportation certificates," the interest upon them being payable, not out of the general tax levy, but out of the profits of the roads. A provision that, should the interest be defaulted, the holders of the certificates may take over the operation of the roads for their own benefit is believed by Judge Dunne to make the certificates salable.

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The Council and the Voters' League

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago has been in existence now for nine years, and hitherto has been increasingly successful each year. Its work in improving the character of the City Council has attracted attention throughout the country. At the election of last week the League received some setbacks along with several notable victories. The City Council, as the result of the election, will show some deterioration. The large vote for the Democratic candidate for Mayor carried into office a few unworthy candidates whom the League was fighting. Even in its failure, however, the League gave evidence of power. In one ward, carried by Judge Dunne by four thousand plurality, the Democratic candidate for Alderman won by only four hundred votes, and that number may be lessened by a recount. It is suggestive that the old-time franchise-granting Aldermen, fought by the League as unfit because of their records, in this campaign all pretended to be strong municipal ownership advocates. The League takes no part in mayoralty contests, but confines its recommendations to candidates for the City Council. Of thirty-six candidates elected last week, eighteen had the indorsement of the League, while eight candidates were successful in the face of the League's opposition. The remaining ten Aldermen elected were not condemned but were not preferred over their opponents. Of the entire Council membership of seventy, including both holdovers and newly elected Aldermen, more than fifty bear the stamp of the League's approval. The Council will be organized this year, as it has been for the past four years, by the best men in it on non-partisan lines. According to their National party affiliations, the Council stands thirty-seven Republican, thirty-two Democratic, and one Independent Republican. But the question of National politics will count for naught in the matter of Council organization.

❀

Bad Tax Legislation

The Assembly of the New York Legislature passed last week by a large majority two special tax bills which have aroused serious and indignant protest from the business interests of New York City. One of these bills provides for the stock transfer tax, on which The Outlook has already commented. The other, if finally enacted, will enable the State to collect a tax of one-half of one per cent. upon all mortgages executed hereafter, but does not apply to mortgages of present record. The Outlook has already stated its objection to the proposed tax of two dollars upon each hundred shares of stock sold and transferred on the floor of stock exchanges or private sale. It is pernicious because it is a class tax directed at a special business which the legislators suppose is rich enough to tolerate the tax with no more serious protest than a little grumbling, and it establishes a precedent upon which might be based the future taxation of any industries singled out by the whim

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or caprice of the Legislature. On its surface the mortgage tax seems more plausible, but in reality it is just as pernicious as the stock transfer tax, because it is just as unscientific and capricious, and does not rest upon any sound or permanent principle. Mortgages in this State are now taxed as personalty. A man owning a mortgage in New York City paying him four and one-half per cent. is supposed by law, according to the present tax rate, to pay back one and one half per cent. into the tax fund. As a matter of fact, the tax on mortgages is so widely evaded, either by technicalities or by absolute dishonesty, that mortgages, in New York City at least, go practically untaxed. The present bill exempts mortgages from the personalty list and imposes a tax of one-half of one per cent., with such drastic provisions for evasions or non-payment that the tax will have to be paid in every case. In other words, the State, which is now cheated of the tax on mortgages, will, under this bill, receive the tax. The fact that mortgage-owners in New York City are making a great outcry against the new tax of one-half of one per cent., on the ground that it will stop borrowing and building and will raise rent, indicates how widespread is the evasion of the present tax upon mortgages. This is probably the argument that influences Governor Higgins to approve the present bill. But, in the judgment of the fairest-minded and most careful students of taxation, mortgages ought not to be taxed at all. In this opinion The Outlook concurs, since it is double taxation; for thus the owner of the real estate is taxed on the assessed value of the property, and the holder of the mortgage is taxed upon the mortgage value. It is said by Governor Higgins that the State is in painful need of the money to be raised by these two measures. That is no reason for unjust and unscientific taxation. Governor Higgins is reported to be in favor of a Commission to consider the whole body of tax laws in the State of New York. Such a Commission, if it is composed of trained and impartial men, can do a much-needed and valuable work. It would be better for the State to get on without new roads and bridges for a year or two until such a Commission can recommend tax legislation which will be effective, simple, just, and general in its application, than to impose a present unscientific, unequal, and unjust tax, as these special tax bills do.

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Boss Rule and Caucus Rule

The worst phase of this tax legislation is found, however, not in the bills themselves, but in the methods and spirit which characterized their passage. The debate and the voting illustrate in an appallingly amusing fashion the boss system in its perfection. Both the mortgage tax and the stock transfer tax were planned and drawn by the Republican party managers. The bills were determined upon in the Republican caucus, under the direction of the party managers, generally supposed to be acting with the approval of ex-Governor Odell, who, although now in Europe, has so large a voice in shaping Republican legislation in this State as to give him title to the term boss. Several Assemblymen are reported by the newspapers as having openly spoken against both bills, asserting that they considered them ill advised and contrary to the wishes of their constituents, but that they were bound by the caucus and should vote for them. Thus the caucus serves the purpose of a middleman of legislation. The boss manufactures and the legislator retails, the manufacturer dealing with the retailer through the good offices of the middleman. The corrupt lobbyist no longer deals with the individual framer of laws. He goes to the boss; the boss draws up the programme for the caucus, and the legislator, except in rare instances, is so saturated with the traditional notion of loyalty to party that he feels bound to abide by the caucus decision. The only cure, so far as we can see, for this condition of things is independent voting and independent nominating in State as well as in municipal politics. That there is a movement in this direction in this State is indicated by the fact that the Chamber of Commerce of Utica, New York, has appointed a committee of its body to study caucus reform. This committee

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has just issued a report recommending the introduction at party caucuses or nominating conventions of the secret ballot, the nomination of candidates by popular petition, and the making of caucus days and registration days identical, so that the voter shall have no excuse for failing to express his opinion concerning nominations and nominees. This movement of the Utica Chamber of Commerce should be followed by similar bodies throughout the State; for the boss system will never be overthrown until the individual voter participates in the nomination of legislative candidates, and thus exercises a stronger hold upon the legislator than the boss.

❀

The Equitable Life Insurance Scandal

The officers and directors of the Equitable Life Assurance Society are apparently, so far as can be learned from their official statements and from the newspaper reports of their unofficial opinions, making the dangerous blunder of trying to cover up and smooth over the scandal which has grown out of the dissensions in the management of the company's affairs. This is a dangerous blunder, both from the point of view of public policy and of private interest. Those bankers and capitalists who sincerely feel that vested interests are likely to be endangered by the steadily growing demand of the public for State regulation of great financial and industrial corporations only put their accumulations of wealth and their opportunities for great profits in more pronounced jeopardy by attempting to conceal from the public financial mismanagement, the discovery or acknowledgment of which they fear will enrage public opinion. Those directors of the Society who sincerely wish to perform their duties as trustees are bound, as a matter of public policy, to make a frank and complete statement of all the facts, and let those individuals who are to blame for the mismanagement and scandal take the consequences. A bank president who for personal or social reasons, or for his own self-interest, attempts to condone the acts of an inefficient or embezzling receiving teller is justly called to strict account by his stockholders and directors. By exactly the same natural laws, if not by the same legal statutes, the policy-holders of so monumental a company as the Equitable will hold its president or the responsible controlling manager, if that official is not the president, strictly accountable for the dishonest or dishonorable methods of colleagues and subordinates.

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The Need of a Public Investigation

It will not do at the present time for the officers of the Equitable Society to say that the widespread public suspicion of its management springs from mere gossip. The president of the Society some weeks ago, in an authorized statement, asserted that the vice-president of the Society had so conducted himself both in his official and in his private capacity as to be a menace to the welfare of the Society. The vice-president, who, as owner of a majority interest in its stock, is apparently in legal control, asserts that these accusations against him are the result of jealousy, and of a desire to wrest the ownership of the Equitable Assurance Company from his hands. The very intimation, in his authorized statement, that he considers himself to be the owner of the five hundred millions of dollars put in the treasury of the company by its army of policy-holders is an indication to The Outlook that his financial theories, whatever his financial honor may be, are not broad enough to entitle him to public confidence. As The Outlook has said before in commenting upon this case, it is clear that the policy-holders must have hereafter a larger voice in the management of the Society's enormous business than they have ever had in the past. By what plan of so-called "mutualization" this voice should be given them is for experts to say; but it is not for any committee of self-styled experts to say that the public must be satisfied with a private investigation of the causes which have led to the controversy. There appear to be three ways in which a public investigation may be made: through the State Department of Insurance, through the Legislature, and through the courts.

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Unfortunately, the public regards the State Department of Insurance with some uneasiness. It fears that the same influences of financial self-interest which have been exerted so powerfully in the affairs of the Equitable Society may be brought to bear upon the Insurance Department. It is also so widely supposed that certain powerful Wall Street interests involved in the Equitable imbroglio have so much influence with the Legislature that the public would not regard an investigation by that body with unalloyed confidence. But if the controversy can be brought into the courts in such a way that full testimony as to all the questionable transactions shall be made under oath, the public will have a firm basis upon which to stand in making a demand for reform. It is to be hoped that enough impartial but interested policy-holders and directors can be found who will urge such an investigation in the courts.

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The President's Journey

We leave our readers to get their accounts of the President's trip from the daily papers. Before our account could reach them it would be a twice-told tale. There is, however, one incident in this trip which seems to us worthy of especial notice. It is thus reported in a special despatch to the New York "Tribune:"

> Colorado Springs, Colorado, April 6.—The information was given out at the Colorado Midland's headquarters this morning that the President's train on that road will be paid for at regular rates, and that all bills for transportation will be settled through the auditing department of the Pennsylvania road, and will be paid for by the President. The only special courtesy which will be accepted by the President will be permission to ride on the engine through Red Rock Cañon.

This is as it should be. There are very good reasons why the President, on a trip undertaken as much for the benefit of the people who wish to become acquainted with him, as for his own benefit in getting acquainted with the people, should be the guest of the Nation—that is, why the Nation should pay his traveling expenses. But there are very good reasons why he should not be the guest of the railroad corporations. The United States Constitution provides that "no person holding any office of profit or trust under them [the United States] shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State." The reason is apparent. Such acceptance might not affect his official action, but it would be sure to subject him to the suspicion of being so affected. Such danger from a gift of a foreign State is now very slight; from a gift of a railroad corporation it is very great. Whether legislators and judges are affected by the reception of railroad passes or not, they are unquestionably subjected to suspicion by accepting them. And the higher the office the more injurious to the Nation is the possibility of such suspicion. An official declaration by the President that in the future free transportation would not be accepted by him from any of the railroads would be universally welcomed by the country, and would add great strength to the movement to prohibit all free passes to public officials. Even if this should limit Presidential trips, the advantage would more than counterbalance the disadvantage. But there is no reason why Congress should not provide by special appropriation for special Presidential expenses incurred in the discharge of official duty. It would have been better to have raised the President's salary to a hundred thousand dollars in order to provide for such special expenses as his office renders desirable if not necessary. It is now too late to do that during Mr. Roosevelt's term, as the Constitution explicitly provides that the President's compensation "shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected." But this does not prevent an appropriation for special expenditures, duly reported and audited.

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The War in the East

With the passage by Admiral Rojesvensky of the Straits of Malacca into the China Sea, the interest and suspense of the war instantly turns from land to ocean. Part at least of the Russian fleet sailed past

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Singapore last Saturday afternoon, having apparently taken the most direct course from Madagascar, a distance of some thirty-five hundred miles. It seems probable, however, that a section of the fleet, including several of the battle-ships, took the longer course by way of Sunda Straits, thus tempting Togo to divide his forces. If Viadivostok is the objective, the ships have still another thirty-five hundred miles to go after passing Singapore, with every likelihood of being found and attacked by the Japanese, whose experience in naval scouting and with the wireless telegraphy should stand them in good stead. Altogether it certainly looks at this writing as if the Russians were ready for battle, and were eager to play a bold game, knowing that, if they can defeat Togo in a general engagement, the Japanese naval power will be broken for this war at least, and Russian prestige, now sorely tarnished, be cleared in large measure. Even if Saigon (in French Indo-China, seven or eight hundred miles from Singapore) or some other neutral harbor turns out to be the Russian objective, it is hard to see how a temporary stay there would avert a battle, as Admiral Togo could demand that the Russians come out and fight under pain of being attacked in a neutral harbor, as, in fact, was done at Chemulpho. In strength Admiral Rojesvensky's fleet is not to be despised. It has six battle-ships, nine cruisers, eight destroyers, three large fast mercantile ships used as scouts, and some twenty colliers and subsidiary vessels. The long stay at Madagascar was doubtless spent in drill and target practice, and it is fair to presume that men and officers realized that they were working literally for their lives. Surely the Baltic fleet must have gained enormously in efficiency since its first reckless and vicious act—the attack on the harmless fishing vessels. Just what force Togo can throw against this fleet is a little obscure. He must have some vessels on guard at Vladivostok, if he accepts the general belief that the three Russian cruisers there are repaired, ready for sea, and their commanders eager either again to devastate Japanese commerce or to come to the aid of Admiral Rojesvensky. In battle-ships Admiral Togo is weak; in cruisers he is decidedly stronger than his enemy; and he has a large force of torpedo-boats and destroyers, many of them built in Japanese ship-yards since the war began.

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Japanese Terms of Peace

There have been many reports of the conditions on which the Russians and the Japanese would be willing to terminate the present war, most of them without foundation outside the active imagination of journalists. There is very good authority, however, for believing that, while the details of a possible arrangement between the two Powers are open to modifications in various directions, the Japanese will accept no conditions which do not guarantee their security from Russian aggression for ten or fifteen years. They have seen the steady advance of Russian power for years past, have made every effort to prepare for the struggle, and have conducted it with supreme skill and magnificent courage, and they do not propose to renew the fight except at their own time. They will, of course, ask for an indemnity, but indemnity will not be the chief thing for which they will strive. The supreme thing will be terms which will make it impossible for Russia to move again aggressively until Japan has had a long period for recovery and for development. To do this the Japanese will undoubtedly insist on holding Port Arthur and Dalny on the terms of the Russian lease; they will accept nothing short of a protectorate over Korea, to which they are entitled; they will insist that Manchuria shall be restored to China, and they will probably ask for an international guarantee of its integrity as part of the Chinese Empire. If they capture Vladivostok, they are not likely to insist upon keeping it, but they will not give it back to the Russians unless they receive guarantees that it will not be made a naval base and that no war fleet shall assemble there. The Chinese Eastern Railway they will probably surrender to its owners on condition that it shall not be protected by Russian guards. It was characteristic

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of the forehandedness of the Japanese that the articles of capitulation for Port Arthur were drawn up by the legal staff of General Nogi's army more than four months before its surrender. They have probably worked out fully the terms they will make with the Russian Government, and it is not very hazardous to predict that they will secure these terms.

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Changes in Europe

Comment on the speech of the Emperor of Germany at Tangiers has brought into clear light the changed conditions resulting from the disasters of Russia in the Far East. That country has hung like a cloud on the outskirts of Germany for many years past, and Europe has been divided into two great groups, with Germany, Austria, and Italy in a Triple Alliance, and France and Russia in a Dual Alliance. The Japanese have destroyed the balance of power secured by these two coalitions. The hands of the Russian Government are so full and the resources of Russia are so heavily taxed that she can hardly count as an efficient ally of France, to say nothing of any aggressive movement on her part in the near future. France has come to an understanding with Great Britain which appears to have evoked genuine cordiality of feeling on both sides and has removed from the arena of international difficulties several vexatious questions, and made it possible for the French to assume a certain authority in Morocco without consulting Germany. With these two Powers Italy appears to be in general sympathy, and upon the expiration of the Triple Alliance Austria may not improbably throw her influence in the same direction. If Russia expected to receive active aid from France in the contest with Japan, she has been entirely undeceived, and the Russian newspapers are commenting on the lukewarmness of France and the friendliness of the German Emperor, whose attitude toward Poland left the Russian Government free to use in Manchuria a large contingent of troops which would otherwise have been detained on the western frontier. Both in St. Petersburg and in other capitals the feeling is general that in various ways the German Emperor has rendered Russia very efficient service. Indications point to a possible alliance or mutual understanding in the near future between England, France, Italy, and Austria on one side and Germany and Russia on the other. The Mediterranean interests of Spain, Italy, and Austria would naturally draw those countries towards the French-English coalition, while the good understanding between England and Japan would probably mean the extension of the influence of such a coalition in the Far East. It is largely a matter of surmise, but there are many facts which make such an outcome probable. The success of the Japanese is undoubtedly the beginning of many radical changes.

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The French Ministry

When M. Rouvier became Prime Minister, he pledged his Government to three radical measures: the separation of Church and State by the annulment of the Concordat, the enactment of some kind of income tax, and the reduction of the time of conscription of military service from three to two years. The last of these measures has already become a law; the term of service of conscripts in the army will hereafter be reduced one-third, which means not only the lifting of a great burden from the peasantry, but the liberating of a great industrial and economic force in France. Under the new law every able-bodied Frenchman within the age limits must serve two years; but if the conscript is an educated man and proposes to follow a profession, during the second year he will have to serve only in the reserve, and will have time to carry on professional studies. The passage of the income tax is regarded as assured, and although a similar measure was defeated by the Senate, it is believed that that body will now acquiesce. There seems to be little doubt about the ability of the Rouvier Ministry to effect a complete divorce between the State and the Church. An attempt to postpone the question for a year until another general election has taken place was overwhelmingly defeated; an attempt to deal with the question

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by referring it to a commission which should include Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergy was also rejected; and it is apparent that there is a settled determination to deal with the question at once and by direct action of the Chamber of Deputies. Several amendments have been offered which it is believed M. Rouvier will accept, and which will do something to modify the rigor of the application of the law. It is proposed that, while the Government shall take over all church buildings as the property of the State, it shall allow them to be used for religious purposes without rental. It is also proposed that the Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew clergy shall continue to receive, so long as they shall live, the amounts now paid to them by the State, and that not until their successors take their places shall the Church be compelled to depend entirely on the support of the laity. These changes, if accepted by the Premier and adopted by the Assembly, will not change the character of the bill, but they will go a long way toward modifying the rigor of its application and dulling the feeling of animosity with which it has been received. They will also, it may be noted, meet the objection that the measure will at once impose a heavy additional burden on the French people.

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Mr. Balfour's Embarrassments

No Prime Minister since Cabinet government began was ever more fertile in expedients to postpone an appeal to the constituencies than Mr. Balfour has been in the two years which have elapsed since Mr. Chamberlain broke up the old Salisbury Ministry and convulsed the country with his agitation for an abandonment of England's policy of free trade. In the last two sessions of Parliament Mr. Balfour's great aim has been to prevent discussions of this question in the House of Commons. He has not always succeeded; for there are still some occasions when control of business is not absolutely in the hands of the First Lord of the Treasury. One of these is the debate on the Address at the opening of the sessions—a debate which is free-for-all; and in which, so long as it is not drawn out solely with a view to obstruction, the closure cannot be applied. Another of these occasions is a private members' night, when the time of the House has been assigned to a member, not of the Ministry, who has been fortunate in the ballot for private members' nights, which takes place in the early days of each session. At other times Mr. Balfour has been able to prevent the House discussing the fiscal question and to thwart the Free Trade Opposition in its efforts to commit the Government to some definite stand. But on the debate on the Address, and more recently on a private members' night, the Opposition was able to circumvent Mr. Balfour; and although on neither occasion did they succeed in compelling the Government actually to define its position, on the private members' night they forced Mr. Balfour to adopt tactics which are telling more adversely with the electorate than a straight-out committal of the Balfour Government to fiscal reform would have done. Then the Government and its following literally ran away. They all left the House to prevent their being compelled to go on record in favor of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme; and thereby the Government broke away from all traditions of Parliament as to its duty when its action or its position is directly challenged by the Opposition.

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The Reverse at Brighton

It was a poor, time-serving expedient, and, as the astonishing by-election at Brighton has made clear, it is telling disastrously for Mr. Balfour and his ministerial colleagues in the constituencies. Mr. Gerald Loder, who was the Government candidate at Brighton, was appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury simply because the Government considered that he had a safe seat and that he would run no danger when he went to Brighton for re-election after taking office. The electoral history of Brighton warranted this confidence on the part of the Government, as for twenty years past Brighton has been solidly Tory. But the fiscal question plus the shilly-shallying of Mr. Balfour proved too much

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even for aristocratic and Tory Brighton, and although Mr. Gerald Loder is still a Lord of the Treasury, he has lost his seat in the Commons, and is consequently of no service to the Ministry. Mr. Balfour has been at his wits' end in the recent ministerial changes due to the resignation of Mr. Wyndham as Secretary for Ireland, and the Earl of Selborne's appointment as Earl Milner's successor as High Commissioner at Pretoria. The Marquis of Salisbury was made President of the Board of Trade—an office to which a peer is rarely appointed—because his taking office would not cause a vacancy in the Commons and give a constituency an opportunity of passing on Mr. Balfour's policy. Half a dozen changes in the Ministry arose out of the recent rearrangement of offices; but in making these appointments Mr. Balfour had to ask himself, not, Who is the best man in the party for the position? but, Who can be appointed without risking another Government defeat in the constituencies? Even the Liberal whips would have said that Brighton could not be captured—that it was hopelessly Tory. But with politics as it is in England it is no longer possible to conjecture what even the most Bourbon Tory constituencies will do, and the uncertainty as to such constituencies warrants the course that the Liberals are taking in the coming general election. For the first time in the history of the House of Commons, no elections are to go by default. The Liberals have a candidate pledged to go to the polls in every constituency in England and Scotland.

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New Aspects of the Canadian School Question

Since the reference to the Canadian separate schools question in The Outlook of March 25, the Dominion Parliament has devoted its attention almost exclusively to that subject, and there have been notable changes in the attitude of Canadian public opinion toward Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government in regard to the educational clauses of the bill creating two new provinces in the Northwest. The upshot of these changes is that the bill, as amended, is now much more acceptable to the Protestant population, not only of the Northwest, but of other provinces of the Dominion. A proof of this is afforded by the speech of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, ex-Minister of the Interior, whose resignation a few weeks ago brought on the present crisis. Mr. Sifton is the man under whose departmental administration immigration into the Canadian Northwest has so greatly increased, and, as an ardent supporter of exclusive provincial control of schools, his position and opinion were, next to the Premier, the most important personal factor in the situation. He had helped to settle the Manitoba schools question some years ago, and is the chief representative of the Northwest in the Dominion Parliament. In his speech he accepted the amendments as a liberal compromise from the political point of view; but the point upon which he specially insisted was that the amendments made a different measure out of the autonomy bill, and removed forever any fear of separate schools in the sense of their control by the Roman Catholic Church, as well as any danger of the unjust appropriation of public money. Since the speech the position of the Government has been considerably strengthened. Though there were divisions among the Government supporters, there was little harmony among the Opposition, and the situation of any statesman who should turn out Laurier would be equally hopeless so far as concerns united party support upon this question. It has divided both parties ever since Confederation in 1867, and whenever it has been debated in its constitutional and legal aspects the confusion has been increased, and sectional and racial temper has been roused. Accordingly, the drift of public opinion has been steadily toward a formal compromise; but the real effect has been a gradual progress from schools which at first were really separate in the sense of being clerically controlled to those which are now separate only in name, all clerical control being utterly done away with, and, with the exception of a half-hour's religious teaching after public school hours, being as fully under Government direction as the schools of the majority. This point

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should be strongly emphasized, for there is much misapprehension about it. Separate schools under Catholic control and aided by the Government are so utterly repugnant to our State Constitutions that we naturally sympathize with the Canadians in their opposition to any such institution. It is forgotten for the moment how essential was compromise on religious education to the success of Canadian Confederation, by reason of the strong position of the French-speaking population at that time. The hidebound provisions in the Canadian Constitution about separate schools which surprise us were necessary forty years ago, but our neighbors have gone far beyond them, and left to them only the shadow of a name.

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The Separate Schools Practically National Schools

Why should the schools be called separate if they are not really such in the sense commonly supposed? The only circumstance which lends any significance to the name is that, under the amendments, the right of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority to have their school—a separate school in name, but a public school in fact—in a separate building *if they wish,* is preserved. It should be remembered that a Protestant minority in any school district has the same rights as a Catholic minority in regard to the half-hour's religious teaching after school hours. Where Catholics are in a majority, and are able by that fact to determine the character of the half-hour's religious instruction—from half-past three until four o'clock in the afternoon—the children of Protestant parents need not remain if the parents so wish. There is no compulsion. Of the 500,000 people now in these new provinces, about 125,000 are Roman Catholics, and it has been officially declared that many thousands of them would not have gone there unless their right to a certain amount of religious school instruction had been assured. That is another political consideration which has made a limited compromise necessary, and which appeals to the sense of justice of the leading politicians on both sides. The half-hour, therefore, is the only noteworthy feature of the separate schools. They are liable for no other school taxation than that which is necessary to support those schools. In all other respects, in every detail of government control and oversight, they are exactly like the schools of the majority. From nine o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon the order of lessons is the same for all; so are the textbooks, the standards of efficiency, and the qualifications of the teachers. There cannot be any control of the school by any clerical or sectarian body. There cannot be any sectarian teaching between nine o'clock in the morning and three o'clock in the afternoon. The Normal schools of the new provinces will give a uniform normal training for all teachers, and there will be uniform curricula and courses of study for all schools of the same grade. There will be complete and absolute control of all schools as to their government and conduct by the central school authority created by the new provincial Legislature. The distribution of the legislative grant to all schools will be according to educational efficiency, a wise provision which did not apply to separate schools of the old type. To recapitulate, all the schools are alike, except that where the trustees are Protestant there is Protestant religious teaching from half-past three to four, and where the trustees are Roman Catholic there is Roman Catholic teaching during the half-hour. That is the only distinction, and neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic children, when they are in the minority, need remain to hear any religious teaching against their parents' wishes.

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The Standard Oil Company's Denial

The legal representative of the Standard Oil Company, Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, has, in an open letter, replied to the charges made by the protesting ministers against Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. He says, we think correctly, that Dr. Gladden is the only one of the protestants who has given specifications in such form that a categorical denial can be given to them, and he quotes from Dr.

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Gladden's specification the following statement:

Mr. Rockefeller may deny that rebates are now given to the Standard, but the Standard now controls about two-thirds of the railroads of this country, and its power is exerted in establishing classification of freights in such a way that it can kill competition. Rebates are no longer necessary.

To this charge Mr. Dodd gives a denial as definite, specific, and categorical as denial can well be made. We have reported Dr. Gladden's accusation with some fullness. It is but just that we give with equal fullness the denial:

The assertion is not true. No such state of facts has ever been disclosed by any investigation or supported by evidence in any court of law. No such facts exist to be proved. The Standard Oil Company does not own a share of stock of any railroad company, nor does it control any railroad company. Stockholders of the Standard undoubtedly invest in railroad as in other shares, but stockholders of the Standard are not a majority on the board of directors of any railroad company, so far as I am aware, and therefore cannot control. The question of railway rebates and Standard control of railways was investigated by the United States Industrial Commission in 1900, and they reported no such facts. Members of the Standard and of the railways were examined in relation to these subjects. It was shown that prior to the enactment of the Inter-State Commerce Law the rebate system was universal. Railroads made their nominal rates higher than they expected to obtain from regular shippers, and the amount of actual freight to be paid was a matter of contract. Each shipper made the best terms he could. The Standard did not invent this system; it found it existing, and could not do business without submitting to it. Like all other shippers, it made the best terms it was able to make with the railroads. Its refineries were located at points where it could take advantage of railway competition. It also strove to give equivalents for reductions in freight. It shipped not only car-loads, but train-loads. It provided terminal and other facilities, and assumed all risks of loss. Public opinion, more enlightened in these days than in those, may have discovered that this was all wrong; but at that time the business man who did not accept that method would better have closed his shop. The stories told of the immense aggregate of the rebates paid to the Standard were shown by that investigation to be untrue. A large portion of the rebates paid were not discriminatory. They were paid to all shippers who shipped exclusively by rail. It was impossible for any shipper to know with certainty what rates his competitors were paying. . . . The system of rebates has, happily, received the condemnation of law. The Standard welcomed the change as a beneficial one. But to say now that it should not have obtained the best rates under the old system which its position enabled it to obtain is an impossible counsel of perfection. The evidence before the Industrial Commission shows very clearly to any unprejudiced mind that since the enactment of the Inter-State Commerce Law the Standard has obeyed it in every particular. The evidence of the Standard managers and freight agents was corroborated by the certificates of managers and freight agents of all the leading railways of the United States, to the effect that by no rebates, arrangements, devices, or plans of any character had the Standard received less rates than other shippers.

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The American Board is Not a Court

This is the plea of the attorney of the accused. In reporting it we are not to be regarded as indorsing either its accuracy or its adequacy. But as a plea in defense it joins issue clearly and definitely with the accusers of Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company as to the facts, as to the evidence given in the investigations, and as to the moral principles by which business men should be governed under the conditions which formerly existed in railroad traffic. The issue is thus definitely joined between the accuser and the accused. To the accusation the plea of not guilty is interposed. It is difficult for us to understand how any one can think it is proper for the Prudential Committee of the American Board to constitute itself a tribunal for the purpose of forming and recording a judgment upon this issue. He who is accused of violating the laws of the land should be tried by the tribunals of the land. He who is accused of violating the standards of his Church should be tried by the tribunals of his Church. Certainly he should not be tried before the missionary body of another Church which has not even jurisdiction to try the members of the communion to which that missionary body belongs. The Prudential Committee was not organized for the purpose of trying such an issue. The members of that Committee have never been charged with the duties of trying such issues. It is safe to say that most of them would not have accepted the position of membership on the Prudential Committee had they thought that mem-

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bership on the Committee involved the performance of such duties. And it is practically certain that the judgment of such Committee would be as little accepted by Mr. Rockefeller's friends if it pronounced him guilty as it would be accepted by Mr. Rockefeller's accusers if it pronounced him innocent. Nor has the Prudential Committee of the American Board any right to bear any testimony for or on behalf of the Congregational churches respecting the general ethical question supposed to be involved in this case. Nearly twenty years ago certain men demanded that the American Board bear testimony against theological heresies. The Outlook then insisted that the American Board had no right to set up any theological standard for or on behalf of the churches. The Board is now called upon to bear testimony against certain ethical practices. The Outlook now insists that it has no right to set up any ethical standard for or on behalf of the churches. The Congregational churches have bodies in which ethical and theological questions can be fully discussed and by which the public opinion of the churches upon those questions can be expressed. These bodies are the State and local Associations and the National Council. It is to these bodies that the discussion which has suddenly been injected into the American Board should be transferred. It is by these bodies that the public opinion of the Congregational churches should be expressed. It is from these bodies that utterances should be demanded setting forth a Christian standard by which the commercial practices too common in our age ought to be tested.

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Susan Coolidge

Miss Sarah Chauncey Woolsey, who died at her home in Newport on Sunday night last, was widely known to a whole generation of readers as "Susan Coolidge." Her personality was unusually interesting. She had marked individuality, delightful humor, conversational ability of a rare order, and many intellectual resources. She came of a family distinguished for generations by dignity of character and cultivation of mind; her own education was exceptionally careful and thorough. Her interests were manifold. She wrote with great ease, and her work, both in verse and prose, had a very delightful quality. She was especially fortunate in writing for children, and her stories for young readers attained a wide popularity. She had a good deal of discretion and skill as an editor, and her knowledge of books and her sense of literature constituted no small part of the capital of Roberts Brothers at the time when the imprint of that firm meant a certain individuality and distinction. She was a successful translator from the French. She edited and abridged the "Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delaney" and the "Diary and Letters of Frances Burney." She was for many years a valued contributor to the columns of The Outlook.

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Shall the City Own its Subways?

The present Subway of New York City was built by money borrowed on the credit of the city, and was leased to the Interborough Company on such terms that at the end of fifty years the debt incurred in the building will all be paid back to the city, principal and interest. The Subway will then belong to the city absolutely, and it will not have cost the taxpayers a dollar. It has already proved itself so advantageous to the public that additional lines of much greater extent than the original Subway are planned, and so profitable pecuniarily that private capitalists are eager to build the new subways with private capital and own them after they are built. Thus the citizens of New York again confront the question whether the highways of this city shall be owned by the city or by private owners, shall be public highways or private property.

Formerly the city owned all its streets. Upon these streets passengers were transported in cabs and hacks and omnibuses owned and operated by private capital. When the horse-car, and later the trolley-car, came in, the city gave a *quasi* ownership in the streets to capi-

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talists on condition that they would provide the necessary vehicles to carry the passengers—that is, the horse-cars and later the trolley-cars. This ownership was not absolute. Other vehicles could use the space occupied by the tracks in the center of the street, provided they would get out of the way when the car of the private corporation came along. The next step was the construction of the elevated road. This elevated road made use of the public street, and became really a part of the public street, but it was absolutely private property. No one could ride upon it or walk upon it without the consent of the private owner. Sixth Avenue, under this system, is a two-story street. The upper story is owned by a private corporation; the first story in the center of the avenue is owned jointly by the public and the private corporation; the two sides of the street are owned exclusively by the public. New York City is now adding to its street system underground streets. The question before the city is, Shall the city own these underground streets as it owns most of the aboveground streets, and used to own them all, or shall it allow the ownership of the underground streets to pass into the hands of private capitalists, as it has allowed the second-story street (the elevated) to pass into the hands of private capitalists?

The claim that the city should own its streets and be able to regulate all the traffic upon them is not Socialism, nor an approach to Socialism. It is only the claim that what has nearly always been true in the cities until within fifty years shall continue to be true: the public highways shall belong to the public.

The claim that the city should own the highways, and should therefore be able to regulate all the traffic upon the highways in the public interest, does not involve the claim that it should own the vehicles and carry on the traffic or any part of it. It may own the Subway under Broadway, as it formerly owned Broadway, and it may allow the cars to be operated in the Subway, as it formerly allowed the omnibuses to be operated in Broadway, by private enterprise. The question how the streets shall be owned and the question how they shall be used are entirely distinct. And these questions should be kept distinct in the public mind.

The answers to these two questions appear to The Outlook clear: 1. The city should own all its streets, absolutely. 2. It should have the power to operate the means of locomotion in those streets if circumstances make it clearly for its interest to do so. On both these points The Outlook agrees absolutely with Mr. R. Fulton Cutting in the principles laid down by him in his article on another page of this issue.

If the city could repeat the method by which it provided for the building of the present Subway, that is, if it could loan its credit for the building of the subways of the future, and lease the subways on terms such as would provide for the repayment of the cost, principal and interest, in a limited time, it can hardly be doubted that the public would indorse this course with the same substantial unanimity with which it indorsed that course six years ago.[1] The advantage to the public of this policy is too apparent to be called in question. But under the Constitution of the State the city cannot borrow money, even for the purchase of property or the construction of works which will be directly profitable to the city, beyond an explicitly defined limit. And that limit has been already nearly reached. Mr. Bird S. Coler, late Comptroller of the city of New York, gives on another page reasons why this Constitutional provision should be modified. The Outlook agrees with him. But it will take at least two years to amend the Constitution, and the need of better transit facilities is immediate and pressing. What ought to be done? One thing clearly ought not to be done. Private capitalists ought not to be allowed to own the future subways of the city. It would be better to wait until the increased value of the assessed property in the city gives power to borrow the necessary money, or until such an amendment as Mr. Coler suggests can be incorporated in the Constitution, than to give away or sell any more of the streets of the city to private capitalists—whether they be streets on the

[1] See The Outlook for April 29, 1899, page 949.

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ground, under the ground, or in the air. The present Subway has been built by a private corporation, on money furnished on the credit of the city, and leased on such terms that the cost will be paid for, with a reasonable interest thereon, in fifty years, and is therefore now city property. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the new subways may be built on money furnished on the credit of private capital, on such terms that the cost will be paid back to the capitalists, principal and interest, in fifty years, in addition to a fair profit for operating the subways during that time, and the subways then belong to the city, not to the builders.

The city owes a great debt to the gentlemen who constitute the Rapid Transit Commission. They have put their time and their business sagacity at the service of the municipality with a public spirit not often paralleled, and with resultant benefits to New York which we think have never been equaled in any American city. The best reward for a great service is an opportunity to render a still greater service. The Outlook appeals to the members of the Rapid Transit Commission to make their proved sagacity again available for the public, and to contrive some method by which the new subways can be built for the city and owned by the city; and, at whatever cost of temporary inconvenience, to use all their power and put all their deservedly great influence against any scheme, however fathered or supported, which threatens to make the underground highways of the metropolis private property.

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The Scapegoat

Miss Tarbell, in her "History of the Standard Oil Company," reports the following testimony by Mr. Frank Rockefeller before a Congressional Committee in 1876:

> We had in Cleveland at one time about thirty establishments; but the South Improvement Company was formed, and the Cleveland companies were told that if they didn't sell their property to them it would be valueless; that there was a combination of railroad and oil men; that they would buy all they could, and that all they didn't buy would be totally valueless, because they would be unable to compete with the South Improvement Company; and the result was that out of thirty or forty there were only four or five that didn't sell.

She adds the testimony of one witness to the effect that his company was compelled by this combination to sell their property to the Standard Oil Company at considerably less than the property cost, and "at about forty or forty-five per cent. less than its value." We report this specific instance because the facts are apparently well authenticated, and because the immorality of the transaction is universally conceded. For it aroused such a storm of indignation that two months after this combination had been made it was formally dissolved, and has since been publicly condemned by leading representative men in the Standard Oil Company. Allegations that similar combinations with the railroads have been since made by the Standard Oil Company have been repeatedly made and as repeatedly denied.[1] Whether the allegations or denials are true we do not here consider; true or false, they constitute the gravamen of the accusations brought against the Standard Oil Company and against Mr. John D. Rockefeller.

It is unquestionably wrong to compel a man to sell his property for less than its value, by threatening to destroy its value altogether if the owner does not sell. Why? Not because it is against the law. If such an act were not prohibited by law, it would still be immoral. Not because it violates the ethical standards current in the community. If the act were so veiled or so defended as not to violate the current standards of morality, or if those standards were so low that the act, if successful, were commended, not condemned, it would still be immoral. Such conduct is wrong because it violates ethical laws which are recognized as authoritative by the educated conscience; laws which are interpreted by the precepts of Jesus Christ and by the older Hebrew law and Hebrew prophets. It violates the Golden Rule. It is not treating one's neighbor

[1] See "The Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Company," by E. H. Montague, pp. 34–30, and testimony therein cited. See also letter of Mr. S. C. T. Dodd, the counsel of the Standard Oil Company, in part published on another page of this issue.

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as one would wish his neighbor to treat him. It is not loving one's neighbor as one's self. It makes of commerce a form of war instead of a form of co-operation. It makes acquisition, not service, the end of industrial life.

It would be very gratifying to American pride if we could believe that Mr. Rockefeller is the only man who, in the conduct of his business, has departed from the ethical standards of Jesus Christ, or that the Standard Oil Company is the only combination of men in America whose profits have been made by "despoiling citizens of their honest gains and shutting the door of opportunity against them," to quote Dr. Gladden's indictment of that corporation. But, in fact, there are tens of thousands of men in America who regard commerce as a kind of war, not as a form of co-operation; and there are hundreds of thousands who regard acquisition, not service, as the end of industrial life. Every railroad rate war is an endeavor by one combination of men to destroy the competing industry of another combination of men. Every bloodless tournament on "'Change" is an endeavor by one group of speculators to ruin the opposing group of speculators and transfer the money of their rivals to their own pockets. The very jargon of the Street, in which these competing rivals are designated as "bulls" and "bears," indicates that, by those most familiar with the facts, the Street is regarded as an arena, and speculation as a brutal game. Every money-lender who watches for his debtor's injury that he may foreclose his mortgage and buy the property in at a profit, every village trader who undersells his competitor for the purpose of driving him out of the trade and getting rid of a rival, does on a smaller scale what John D. Rockefeller is charged with doing on a large scale. And moral principles are not to be measured by the size of the transactions in which they are represented. We should be glad to believe that a majority of Americans are governed by the Golden Rule in the organization and ordering of their trade. But certainly there is a minority who are not so governed, and it is a large one.

We object to the present campaign against Mr. Rockefeller because it is a misdirected campaign; because, however moral are the motives which inspire it, the effects are immoral; because it turns the indignation of the National conscience away from a National wrong-doing; because it promotes National pride instead of cultivating National humility; because its effect is to make men plume themselves on their superior holiness who in fact lack not the spirit but only lack the ability to make of trade a successful war; because it singles out one illustrious example of a pernicious system and leaves the system itself unrebuked; because it thus tends to Pharisaism, not to public and general repentance and reformation. The passage The Outlook would like to recommend to the clergy of America to preach on next Sunday is this:

> These eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

On the Great Day of Atonement, in the history of ancient Israel, the High Priest was to select two goats, and, sacrificing one, was to confess over the other "all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins," and this goat was to be sent off into the wilderness to be seen no more. The modern method lacks one essential feature of the ancient ritual. All the sins of the children of America and all their transgressions in their sins are put on John D. Rockefeller, but without confessing them as the sins of the American people, and without any self-sacrifice to get rid of them. Such a use of the scapegoat serves no valuable purpose. It does not require much penitence to say, You have done the things you ought not to have done, and you have left undone the things you ought to have done, and there is no health in you. It does not require much piety to say, God be merciful to you a sinner. It requires very little courage to preach against the sins of a very successful sinner to a congregation of very moderately successful sinners. It is against the folly and the sin which measures suc-

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cess by the largeness of acquisition, not by the greatness of service; which says, every day but Sunday, He that would be greatest among you let him be richest of all, that the Church and the ministry should bear witness. It is against that spirit of acquisitiveness which defiles and degrades and dishonors this otherwise great age and great people that the Church and the ministry should arouse the National conscience; and they should so arouse it that each man will re-read the record of his own life, not that of his fellow, and will hale, not his more successful competitor, but himself, before that awakened conscience for Christly judgment.

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A Lenten Meditation

The differences between the background of landscape, costume, and habit against which the figure of the Christ moves, and the background against which we live in the twentieth century, are so many and so great that the modern mind is unable to grasp them, to be at home with them, to hold the later in real sequence with the earlier time. The old time seems touched with a certain unreality—it is so strange in all its appearances, so remote in all its accessories. In the heart of the tremendous life which throbs in the great modern thoroughfares, the silence and solitude of the desert are hardly to be realized, the simplicity of thought and habit and occupation in that earlier time hardly to be comprehended. Sometimes, it is true, there flashes on the imagination an alien world; the sailor hears the church bells ringing in the village of his boyhood on the other side of the world; the roar and thunder of the surf sound in the ear of the man who walks in the glare of the street on a midsummer afternoon; but these memories are so brief, so elusive, that they seem like dreams of the imagination rather than like vivid recollections of things that have been. The Christ is not forgotten by a host of those who never enter the places consecrated to his memory and service; but he seems so far in the past that they no longer realize him as a living Christ, nor do they think of the stream of vitality he poured into society as a present and rising force in human affairs.

There have been ages which have lived too much with the past; this age lives too little. It is so self-centered, so engrossed with the work of the moment, that it fails to realize how much of its wealth of achievement, health, order, knowledge, power, it has inherited, and how little, comparatively, it has made for itself. The age is great in its productivity because so many earlier ages have worked for it; it is the harvests of their sowing which fill our granaries to bursting. We are largely what the fathers have made us; the life of the past lives in our minds and bodies, for the life of the race is an unbroken continuity of influence, tendency, energy, character. The stamp of the wilderness and the desert is on us all, and deep in our natures sleep the instincts which controlled our remotest ancestors. Day before yesterday we were wandering in deserts; yesterday we built great cities for ourselves; to-day we are swinging great hammers and driving great wheels in the perfecting of material civilization; who shall say what we shall be doing to-morrow? To-morrow we may turn the leisure that comes with wealth to the fashioning of a really human social order, we may concentrate our energies on intellectual interests with a passion that shall drive back the mist of ignorance which hangs round the world, we may turn to God after having tried all nearer consolations to find in him, at last, the only real solution of the problem. No one can tell what we shall be to-morrow; but it is certain that we shall not be what we are to-day. We have been hunters, fighters, wanderers, explorers, builders of cities; now we are makers and sellers, of immense energy and skill; hereafter we shall cease to be merchants, and life will take on some other aspect and pour itself in other activities.

And yet men will always have the same needs, be subject to the same temptations, stand in peril of their souls from the old enemies. The time will come when this age will seem as remote and unreal and its great figures as spectral and shadowy as the first century and its men seem to us; but how intensely the

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age lives to-day and how masterful is the vitality of the men who command its forces and shape its courses! The desert is not more remote from our thought than this age will some day be from the thought of our successors; but their world will be largely what we make it; their freedom will rest on our toil, their joy in the beautiful on our struggle with the ugly. So the ages flow together, and men change their occupations without changing their nature. The unreality of the past lies in our absorption in the present; it lives in our present, but our sight fails to penetrate and recognize it. Our temptation does not come to us in desert places, but it comes with all the certainty with which it came two thousand years ago; our spirits are not tested by the offers of world-wide power, of the service of nature to our personal needs; but are modern allurements less beguiling than those of the older day? Is the soul safer than in the time of Christ? Has the tragedy of ill-spent, intemperate, lustful, selfish living lost anything of its terror and shame?

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A Teacher from Fairyland

When Hans Christian Andersen wrote "The Story of My Life," he described conditions in his boyhood which seemed at the moment to present unsurmountable obstacles to escape from the narrowest circumstances. Seen, however, in the light of his complete career, few boyhoods could have been more fortunate; and the biography of this erratic man of genius is one of those fairy tales in which modern life has been peculiarly rich. For the essence of a fairy story is the transformation of the meanest surroundings into the most princely conditions; of the obscurest and most unpromising person into the most distinguished and favored recipient of Fortune's gifts. Andersen's greatest good fortune, as Mr. Harboe points out in his article in this number of The Outlook, was in his own nature and temperament. He was one of the happy company of those who are born to be children from the cradle to the grave.

Andersen's faults, like his virtues, grew out of his childlike spirit, and all his work is rooted in it. He wrote about children; but above all he thought as a child, and wrote as a child would write if it had command of the gifts of expression. No man could have done by any training or observation what Hans Christian Andersen did. To the very end he had the fresh feeling, the sense of wonder, the *naïveté*, the power of quaint observation and of semi-humorous comment, which belong to children. He never lost the happy faculty of endowing inanimate things with life, of humanizing animals, of imparting his own thought and will to the world about him. He was as truly a myth-maker as those earliest men and women who lived in the childhood of the race. He was never a preacher, and the smell of didacticism was not on his garments; yet he was a most effective teacher of some of the fundamental things of life. His imagination was never divorced from a certain shrewdness of observation and a certain keenness of judgment.

Because he was a child Andersen was also an artist. In our busy time he played; and perhaps his chief service to his generation and to other generations will be the example he set of being at home in the world by using his imagination as well as his hands; of serving the Lord by being happy as well as serving him by doing things; of living as if the world were a place built by a Divine Father for the welfare of his children. Very few people understood the significance of childhood when Andersen wrote "The Ugly Duckling," and in nothing has there been a greater change than in the attitude of education, of literature, and of the home toward childhood. Then children were neglected; now they are the centers of the interest of the whole intelligent world. Then childhood was regarded as an idle period, to be looked after physically, but, in its earlier years at least, having no intellectual or spiritual significance; to-day it is agreed that the first six years of a child's life are probably the most important in its whole career for educational purposes, and that it learns more during that plastic time than in all the rest of its conscious

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life so far as fundamental ideas and relations are concerned. The old man who said that he had been doubly unfortunate because when he was a child nobody was interested in childhood and everybody was reverential to old age, and now that he had become old nobody was interested in old age but everybody was reverential toward childhood, stated a fact in a picturesque way. For that matter, age has lost its terrors since men have learned that it is the heart of the child in the man that keeps him fresh, inventive, creative, and interesting.

Andersen was the creator of a literature of the highest value. Nothing would do more to bring Americans to make a just valuation of the different interests of life and the perception of a spiritual instead of a material scale of values than to be brought up on fairy stories. Everything on this continent tends to intensify the practical mind. A foreigner has said, not with entire truthfulness but with some insight, that this is a country of every possible convenience and very few comforts. The ministry to the active life could hardly be more skillful or complete, but the ministry to the spirit leaves much to be desired. What Americans need is the education of the imagination. We not only need children who, instead of being precocious, shall be unconscious, frolicsome, and gay, but men and women who live through the imagination as well as through the practical activities.

Lowell was once passing a great building near the Paddington Station in London, when his attention was attracted by an inscription over the entrance: "Home for Incurable Children." Turning to the friend who was with him, he said, with a whimsical smile, "They'll take me there some day." Like all men of creative imagination and artistic gift, the author of the "Biglow Papers" was a child at heart. One of the most characteristic qualities of Phillips Brooks was his fellowship with children, his ability to put himself into their world and to care instinctively for the things with which and in which they lived. Great as were his tasks and virile as was his strength, he always had access to the world of childhood, and he brought from it that perennial freshness of spirit which made him one of the most vitalizing religious teachers of his time. Men have been slow to perceive that to be young is to touch the world in which we live with our spirits as well as with our hands; that mechanical tasks make us old, while the works that are done in the light of the imagination renew the joy and strength of youth from generation to generation. It is often but a step from the world of business to the world of art; but that step leads from the world of age to that of youth, from the activities which exhaust to those which nourish. What Americans need most to-day is not more technical training or wider activities; their aptitudes and conditions compel the one and evoke the others. Their need is a greater love for fairy tales!

We have done almost everything in this country except make fairy tales. We were mature men when we settled the continent, and our earliest books were chiefly records of things done or reports of actual conditions. They have a gray and faded look, as if they had been written by old men. When we ventured a little way into the world beyond the hills, we sought refuge in visions of the Last Great Day, or took our souls to pieces in a vain attempt to find out how complete and destructive was the supremacy of the principle of evil within them. We learned early to work with tireless hands; we are only beginning to learn to play with quick imagination. Americans began as a grown-up race. There are no myths, naïve ballads, love poetry, almost no legends, in our early literature; there are discussions of theology, reports of explorations, and a few excursions into the realm of the supernatural. We are a nation without a childhood. In these later years we are beginning to get back some of the qualities of the child. We are learning the value of play, we are beginning to live out-of-doors, we are cultivating a sense of ease as well as a sense of restraint. Such grown-up children as Hans Christian Andersen have a special message for America, and such books as his ought to be text-books in every home where the Americans of the future are being trained.

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Shall New York Own Its Subways?

The subject treated by Mr. Cutting and Mr. Coler in the following articles has a special and immediate interest to the citizen of New York; but it also concerns every public-spirited man throughout the country, whatever his place of residence, who wishes to aid in the development of American municipal life and government. Mr. Cutting reviews the history of the building of the present Subway, and outlines the practical possibility of operation as well as ownership of future subways by the city. Mr. Coler describes the financial obstacles which have prevented the city in the past from itself undertaking the construction of great public works, and points out a feasible method of overcoming these obstacles. He chooses the dock system to illustrate his theory, but it is equally applicable to the difficulties and solution of the Subway problem. We comment more fully elsewhere on the general principles involved in these interesting and instructive papers by Mr. Cutting and Mr. Coler.—THE EDITORS.

A Calm View of the Rapid Transit Situation

By R. Fulton Cutting

Chairman of the Citizens' Union

THE discussion of the question of Rapid Transit development and its control has occasioned considerable feeling—so much so, in fact, that it seems impossible for advocates of either conservative or radical views to consider it dispassionately. At the hearings in Albany there has been manifested a great deal of misconception of the real purpose and significance of opposing views. Neither side seems able to give credit for what is meritorious in the other's position. It should, however, be possible for one thoroughly interested in the question to take a calm view of it; and it is in the hope that he is able to do so that the writer ventures the following observations.

In 1900 the Rapid Transit Commission made a contract with the McDonald Syndicate for the construction and operation of the present Subway. This was the consummation of a long period of anxious and laborious effort. The members of the Commission had been about, hat in hand, endeavoring to persuade capitalists to undertake the enterprise. They could not induce any one of them to consider it. After many disappointments, they finally found in Messrs. McDonald and Belmont a contractor and a banker with sufficient pluck and enterprise to undertake the project upon certain conditions which the Commission gladly assented to. The contract was signed amid general acclamation. The satisfaction of the public seemed to be widespread. It is true that the Commission had the warrant of a referendum authorizing the city to construct the Subway itself; but the Commissioners conscientiously hesitated to invest the city's money in an enterprise which private capital regarded as of dubious promise.

The contract with the McDonald Syndicate was more advantageous to the city than any franchise which had been let for many decades, and certainly marked a step forward in the city's conservation of franchise value. Under the contract the difference between the actual cost of construction and the price paid by the city does not represent, as some

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suppose, a net loss to the city of that amount, as the entire total of the city's expenditure comes back through the operation of the sinking fund.

Construction under contract was speedily commenced. It was found that the engineering difficulties were not as serious as had been anticipated, or perhaps it is fairer to state that the genius of the engineer triumphed over obstacles with unexpected ease.

In May, 1902, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company was incorporated. It first issued $25,000,000 of capital stock, of which $13,600,000 was used to acquire the $6,000,000 of stock and all the interest of the Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company (the McDonald Syndicate), $9,000,000 of the balance was offered to the stockholders of the last-named company at par, and $2,400,000 sold at 110. In August of the same year the stock was increased to $35,000,000, and the additional $10,000,000 issued for the construction of the Brooklyn extension was offered and sold to the stockholders at par. The market price of the Interborough Company's stock is now 213, which seems to indicate that the stockholders expect dividends at the rate of approximately 10 per cent. upon their issued capital. The situation to-day, then, differs from that existing previous to the execution of the McDonald contract in two important particulars. First, the problems of underground construction have been successfully solved, and the uncertainties upon this ground which largely affected the investment of capital have been removed. Second, the remunerative properties of the enterprise are assured, and private capital may safely undertake it from this standpoint. The city has paid handsomely to ascertain knowledge with reference to these particulars. The question is, How can it best profit by the information derived through the construction and operation of the first Subway? Two years ago, when the success of the project was already reasonably assured, the Citizens' Union framed and secured the introduction in the State Legislature of what is generally known as the "Elsberg Rapid Transit Bill." This measure was intended to increase the powers of the Rapid Transit Commission so as to enable it to profit by its experience and thus qualify it to render the city the most effective service. Some of the minor provisions have been approved by the Commission and are embodied in measures now pending before the Legislature. Upon two points, however, there was an irreconcilable difference of opinion. The Rapid Transit Act makes it obligatory upon the bidder for construction of a subway to lease it for at least thirty-five years. The Elsberg Bill sought to repeal this compulsory joining of the contracts and to give the Rapid Transit Commission power in its discretion to accept offers for construction and operation from separate bidders. It did not, however, in any way prevent the Commission from letting both contracts to the same bidder. Second, the Elsberg Bill gave the Rapid Transit Commission permission to lease or operate the subway as the occasion might seem to demand. If the release of possible bidders for construction from the obligation to operate the road would increase competition in the bidding for construction and thereby induce lower bids, it would certainly seem proper to pursue this course, unless there should be cogent reasons for not doing so. The general law demands that the City Departments shall extend the privileges of competition for contracts and supplies as widely as possible. The Commission, however, urges that the compulsory joining of the contracts for construction and operation is based upon the theory that this will operate powerfully to insure speedy construction. It would supply a motive to the builder, as the sooner he arrives at the remunerative epoch of the enterprise the sooner will he realize his profit. This is certainly an ingenious theory, and it has no doubt hastened the completion of the present Subway. That some expedient to hasten construction is necessary can hardly be denied by any one who is familiar with the protracted history of nearly every public work conducted by the city. It would seem, however, incredible that a less costly expedient could not be discovered, as the measurable elimination of competition for construction is a grave departure

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from ordinary business principles. But the Rapid Transit Commission sees another objection to this provision. If the contracts were separated and the construction undertaken before the city had been able to secure a lessee, it might find itself with a subway completed and no lessee. Under these circumstances the public pressure for the immediate opening of the new work would necessitate the acceptance of some very unsatisfactory bid, and the city would sacrifice its property to the reckless demand of would-be patrons of the road. So long as the Commission had no power to operate a subway, there is some validity in this objection, but with this added power no danger exists of its being obliged to make an unprofitable lease. It cannot at least be victimized by alien interests. But the Commission fears that this alternative involves dangerous possibilities.

Is there really any serious menace involved in granting the Commission the alternative power to operate a subway if in its judgment the occasion demanded it? Let us suppose by some stretch of the imagination—for the probability is remote—that the Rapid Transit Commission was finally compelled by the inability to secure a lessee to operate the subway itself. I say that probability is remote, for I do not believe that the corporations to-day controlling transportation would ever give the city an opportunity to experiment in direct operation if they could possibly secure a lease, and as the disposition of the Commission is altogether favorable to leasing, the difficulty of coming together would not be appreciable. But nevertheless, supposing that the Commission was driven to avail itself of the dreaded alternative. The Commission is a non-political body; it is under no partisan pressure, and would enjoy, therefore, the same freedom in the selection of transportation officers as any board of railroad directors. No sacrifice of efficiency to partisan demands would be involved in its operation of the subway. The unique constitution of the Commission at least delivers it from this frequently urged objection to municipal operation.

The Commission would have to pay higher wages to its employees than a private corporation, but if the next subway at all approaches in profitable operation the present one, the margin of profit is so great that the increased cost of maintenance could very readily be endured. Under the most unfavorable circumstances of operating cost, the profit of the enterprise should still be substantial. These are the two principal objections urged from the economic standpoint; there remains the menace of Socialism involved in direct operation. If one could be sure that the operation of the subway by the Rapid Transit Commission was a positive step in the direction of the final institution of the Socialistic programme, the Commission would be perfectly sound in rejecting it. That fatal theory of government, if it ever actually supervenes, will certainly cause an appalling cataclysm. Yet if every possible danger which the imagination can conjure up had been allowed to obstruct the path of progress, we should still be in the gray dawn of civilization. Perhaps there is no more instructive lesson in modern times in this relation than the history of the British Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832. The struggle over that measure brought England to the very verge of revolution, but this menace was not due to the agitator; the responsibility rested upon the shoulders of such true patriots as the Duke of Wellington and Archbishop Howley in the House of Peers, and Sir R. Inglis, Sir Charles Wetherell, and Sir Robert Peel in the Commons. Their stubborn resistance to any broadening of Parliamentary constituency was as dangerous as it was conscientious. They sincerely believed that the death-knell of the rights of property had struck and that anarchy must inevitably supervene. Yet no conservative to-day would conscientiously advocate a return to the narrow representative basis of the ante-Reform Bill days.

If this provision giving to the Rapid Transit Commission the additional power to operate subways could have been considered upon its own merits and divested of the hazy possibilities which the Commission fears, it would seem to have everything to commend it. In negotiating the terms for future subways

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it places the Commission—the city's representative body—upon equal terms with private corporations. To-day the latter are intrenched while the city is undefended. The contest is unequal. Negotiation between parties relatively thus situated cannot be expected to produce the best results for the weaker party.

The city of Philadelphia affords a striking object-lesson of the advantage of ownership and the power to lease or operate a public utility. That city is probably the worst-governed city of the first class in the United States. Graft and corruption are in the saddle, and yet in one respect it is far superior to the city of New York, and that is in the question of gas supply. In 1897 the city leased its gas works to a private corporation for thirty years upon the following terms: Private consumers receive gas for the first ten years for 90 cents per 1,000 feet, during the next five years for 85 cents, then at 80 cents for five years, and 75 for the last ten years of the lease. The city receives all the gas it uses free, and the company has agreed to expend $15,000,000 in repairs and improvements upon the gas plants during the term of the lease. How does it happen that Philadelphia fares so well at the hands of a gas monopoly? There is only one answer to the question. It owns the producing and distributing plant, and enjoys the power to lease or operate it itself. It is true that the operation of its gas works by the city of Philadelphia did not produce as advantageous returns as the lease to a private corporation. It cannot be denied that the operation of the plant was inefficient, dishonest, and wasteful; and yet, unless I am mistaken, the city furnished gas to private consumers at the same price which New York pays, and that without drawing upon the tax fund to supply a deficit. However Philadelphia may have failed to operate its gas plant successfully, the power to do so has more than compensated for its mistakes, and secures for it the very gratifying results embodied in the existing lease. Can it be doubted that the Rapid Transit Commission, armed with the same authority, could fail to secure more advantageous terms in leasing its subways than it can to-day under the limitations of the Rapid Transit Act? Is it possible that an act specifically framed to overcome obstacles deemed almost insurmountable in 1900 should still remain the best instrumentality of service when those obstacles no longer exist?

The Commission has succeeded for the third time in defeating the Elsberg Bill—a measure regarded by radicals as quite insufficient. Broadening the scope of the Commission's authority without limiting its discretionary powers, the measure still left it master of the situation. May this not be a Pyrrhic victory? Is it wise to calk the flood-gate at a season of rising waters? Germany, France, and Italy are a good deal disturbed by Socialism, but Switzerland is in no anxiety. Yet Switzerland has experimented more largely with what its enemies call "State Socialism" than any other Continental power, and the significant fact about its policy is that it has for forty years been directed by a political party which numbers in its membership most of the bankers, merchants, and men of property of the Confederation.

New York's Debts and Assets

By the Hon. Bird S. Coler

Former Comptroller of the City of New York

PUBLIC and official opinion in New York City, after years of hesitation and doubt, is at last aroused to a fair understanding and general acceptance of the fact that the municipality may own and operate vast public utilities with benefit to the taxpayers. At the beginning of the adoption of this system the city authorities are compelled to pause and take stock of the debts, assets, and credit of the municipal corporation.

The system of debt limitation provided for the city by the State Constitu-

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tion places the municipal corporation in the unbusinesslike position of reducing its credit, or borrowing capacity, every time it increases its permanent assets. The city cannot, under the Constitution, issue bonds, or in any way incur debt, in excess of ten per cent. of the assessed value of the taxable real estate within the municipality. This fact is so well known that it can be made clear as to detail by the brief statement that every time the city acquires land for a park, public building, or other purpose, its credit, or borrowing capacity, is reduced. The sale of Central Park, divided into building lots, would wipe out the present city debt, yet the ownership of that 840 acres of real estate reduces the borrowing capacity of the municipal corporation by some $50,000,000, because the property is not subject to taxation. Nevertheless, parks should not be con sidered as an asset.

The ten per cent. limitation of all classes of debt may have been a wise and necessary safeguard when it was placed in the organic law of the State. At that time no man could foresee the marvelous future of New York City. Fifty years ago municipal ownership and operation of profitable public utilities was merely a day-dream of far-sighted thinkers. New York City faced the embarrassing possibilities of this archaic scheme of safeguarding municipal credit for the first time when the people voted to lend the city's credit to the building of an underground rapid transit railroad. When we obtained the law to lend the credit, we found we did not have the credit. The city was then very close to the Constitutional limitation of debt. A long wait followed. As Comptroller of the city at that time, I urged and finally obtained legislation exempting from the charge against the borrowing capacity of the city the $30,000,000 of indebtedness of the several counties included in the municipality. That exemption enabled the city to finance the building of the present Subway.

A few words as to the present financial status of the city with the completed Subway will serve to explain our peculiar system of municipal finance. The city has issued $36,000,000 of bonds to pay for the work. That amount is now a charge against the borrowing capacity of the city, but does not add one penny to the burdens of the taxpayers. The lessees pay to the city annually an amount sufficient to pay the interest on the bonds and to create a sinking fund sufficient to retire the bonds at the end of fifty years. The municipal corporation will then own the road in fee simple without one dollar of expense to the taxpayers; but through all those fifty years the credit or borrowing capacity of the city for other profitable investments is reduced, under the present Constitution, by the sum of $36,000,000.

Another striking illustration of the incongruity of our present financial system of adjusting assets to debts and credit is found in the Department of Water Supply. The receipts of the city last year from water rates yielded a net profit in round numbers of $2,500,000. That is, the income paid all operating expenses, interest on all water bonds, provided the necessary sinking fund, and turned into the city treasury for the reduction of taxation the sum named above. Yet the vast amount of bonds which have been issued to pay for the present water supply system remain a charge against the credit and borrowing capacity of the city. In brief and plain English, a public utility and necessity yielding a net revenue of $2,500,000 a year to the city represents a charge of $75,000,000 or more against its credit. Next fall a Constitutional amendment will be voted upon by the people, excepting from the limit all water bonds issued after January 1, 1904. This was passed through the Legislature at my recommendation, in order that the Ramapo Bill should be defeated for all time.

The improved dock property owned by the city is another source of net profit revenue, yet all the bonds outstanding for such improvements are a charge against the corporation's borrowing capacity. Improved dock property yields an average income of five per cent. on the investment. This will pay interest on the bonds and provide a sinking fund to retire the securities in thirty years from date of issue, in addition to paying the operating expenses of the department.

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That leaves a net profit which is applied to the reduction of taxation. The shipping interests of this city may be divided into the three following classes: first, those owning dock facilities; secondly, those obliged to lease them; and, thirdly, the interests which, while not leasing docks for fixed periods, nevertheless have occasion from day to day to obtain dock and wharfage facilities for ordinary purposes of river and coastwise traffic. The latter two classes will, I believe, be found practically unanimous in favor of municipal ownership, because cheaper rentals and better facilities can be obtained thereby.

At present about one-third in value of the entire water front of Manhattan Island is in the hands of private owners. Much of the dock property now in the hands of private owners is very poorly maintained, and the wharfage and dockage facilities obtainable therefrom are altogether inadequate for commercial requirements. It is one of the misfortunes of the present mixed system of private and public ownership that the proprietors of private docks are, naturally, disinclined to expend considerable sums of money in the improvements thereof, when they realize that at any time their property may be seized by the city. It is also unfortunately true that the progress of acquiring such property by the city has been unduly slow.

The public generally, as well as our legislators, do not seem to have appreciated the difference between expenditures made in behalf of a remunerative and profitable investment, like docks, and expenditures for unproductive investments, like parks, street pavements, and public buildings of all kinds, which, however desirable and necessary they may be, bring in, nevertheless, no financial return to the municipality as a corporation, and are, therefore, a direct burden upon the taxpayers. I believe that, however revolutionary a proposition may seem to be at first sight, if, after careful discussion, it be found to be based upon unimpeachable truths, it is bound ultimately to receive the sanction of the public. There seems to be no reason why the restrictive prohibition of the Constitution in regard to municipal indebtedness should apply to bonds issued for revenue-producing investments which bring in a return in excess of any possible burden upon the taxpayers. It is also to be noted that under the law as it now stands the city suffers in another direction from every dollar that it invests in such enterprises; for not only is its future debt-incurring capacity diminished to the extent of such bond issues, but by reason of the fact that private and therefore assessable property is converted into public and non-assessable property by the operation, the value of the city's real estate for the purposes of taxation is diminished thereby, and to a proportionate extent the Constitutional limit of indebtedness is thereby decreased. To state this matter otherwise and concretely, it may be said by way of illustration that if the city were to acquire private dock property to the extent of $10,000,000, its assets and its financial strength would from any proper business point of view be materially increased thereby. Nevertheless, the city's power to incur indebtedness for other purposes would not only be decreased to the extent of that $10,000,000, but also to the extent of ten per cent. of the assessed valuation therefor, or, say, by $1,000,000 additional. If all the dock property owned by the city were deeded away to a private owner without the city's receiving one dollar's consideration, the city could borrow ten million dollars more money than it could the day before, when it was one hundred million dollars richer.

As a beginning in the work of separating our profit-yielding investments in the improvement of and extension of public utilities, I at one time suggested to the Chamber of Commerce that if we could obtain the necessary legislation the city might issue bonds to the amount of, say, ten to twenty millions of dollars to provide a working capital with which a Commission could begin operations. That Commission could then acquire dock property by condemnation proceedings to an amount not exceeding the total of this working capital—let us say ten millions of dollars. Immediately after having acquired and paid for this property the Commission would adver-

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tise for sale to the bidder offering the most advantageous terms mortgages on this dock property in either one of the two following ways: The Commission would either fix an arbitrary rate of interest on said mortgages, as, for example, four per cent., and offer to sell the same to the bidder offering to loan the largest percentage of the value of the property; or the Commission could fix arbitrarily the amount of the mortgage to be sold—say eighty per cent. of the value of the property—and sell it to the bidder offering to buy the same at the lowest rate of interest. The term of the mortgage would be such a number of years as would enable the excess of rentals to be received by the city from said property over and above the annual interest charge to amortise the principal of the mortgage at the expiration of such term. These mortgages would be made by this Commission acting as trustees. Such transactions are not uncommon among private individuals. By the terms of such a transaction the city would not legally become indebted at all. The trustees would hold the property for the joint benefit of the city on the one hand and the mortgagees on the other. The mortgagees would, of course, have the right to foreclose at any time prior to the maturity of the mortgage in the event of the non-payment of the interest. In view of the fact, however, that the uniform experience of the city in regard to dock property has been one of large profit, the possibility of such a failure to pay interest is scarcely to be seriously considered, especially if, as I have already suggested, the acquisition of new property were for the present limited to localities where such a demand exists for wharfage privileges as to render their development immediately profitable. At the end of the mortgage period the city would have acquired this property in fee simple without the expenditure of a dollar, except the small proportion of bonds issued in the first place to provide a working capital for the Commission referred to. In other words, by the mere use of this comparatively simple legislative machinery the citizens and taxpayers twenty-five or thirty years hence would receive, at but small cost, revenue-producing property of enormous value. And in the meantime the commercial facilities of the port would have been immeasurably improved. I think it is a moderate and conservative estimate to say that the city would acquire all this dock property by the issue of bonds to an amount not exceeding twenty per cent. of the actual value of the land. Very likely the percentage would be still smaller. Such an investment ought to be most eagerly sought after by capitalists. The character of dock property on Manhattan Island is so well established, and its profit-earning capacity so well known, that the possibility of a foreclosure would be theoretical rather than practical. But in the event of such a course being necessary, the mortgagee has pledged for his benefit specific property against which he can proceed, which is not true in the case of the ordinary city bond. In order to avoid adverse criticism, I would advocate limiting this course of procedure to such dock property as may be acquired in the future, giving no right to mortgage dock property heretofore acquired. As a business transaction it seems to me that this plan is wholly advantageous to the city. The mortgaging of such property is entirely different from the mortgaging of property acquired by the city for merely governmental purposes, such as public parks. The city's docks are in theory, as in fact, less of a governmental than of a business nature. The only question to be answered is, first, Would such a transaction inure to the peculiar benefit of the city of New York as a municipal corporation? and, secondly, Would its indirect results benefit the commerce of the port of New York? It seems to me that the answers to both these queries must be in the affirmative. This plan was submitted to Andrew Carnegie and received his unqualified indorsement, and is practically the same as Judge Dunne and his associates have planned for the acquiring of the Chicago street railways. I am also firmly of the belief that the enormous material possibilities of the municipality can never be properly developed and the proper returns secured to its citizens from its latent franchise values unless such a

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Constitutional amendment be secured. It is only because I realize the difficulties and delays incidental to Constitutional modification that I have ventured to suggest an alternative.

Will it be safe to intrust such a far-reaching system of regulating the city's credit and expenditures to changing local governments? I have no hesitation in answering that question in the affirmative. In recent years there has been a vast and healthy development of civic pride and public honesty. Organizations of public-spirited private citizens now watch with care and intelligence every act of municipal officers. General conspiracy for public fraud is now impossible. No political organization can long retain control of the government of a great city unless it is honest and progressive in its administration of the business of the people.

The Call of the Hills

By Margaret Hamilton Wagenhals

Over green meadows winds the way
(But the hills are calling),
Through rich hills where the cattle stray
(But the hills are calling),
Down to the bridge where the loitering stream
Murmurs forever its sweet day-dream,
And an oriole trills to its mate in the nest,
Singing of home and the love that is best
(But the hills are calling).
(Oh, the hills are calling, I must obey,
My heart has heard them and will not stay;
So I follow it, follow it ever and aye,
Over the hills and far away.)

Through the roar of the busy street
(Oh, the hills are calling)
I press on my way with eager feet
(For the hills are calling);
And out of the rush of the hurrying throng
The city sings me a wonderful song,
A siren song of glory and shame,
Of lust and struggle and gold and fame
(But the hills are calling).
(Oh, the hills are calling, I must obey,
I hear their call and I cannot stay,
But follow it, follow it ever and aye,
Over the hills and far away.)

Whither I travel I cannot say
(But the hills are calling),
Onward and upward leads the way
(And the hills are calling).
Beyond the gaze of my yearning eyes
An unknown country before me lies,
And, leaving behind all earth counts best,
I needs must follow—I cannot rest
When I hear it calling.
(Oh, I hear it calling and must obey,
It haunts my heart, and it will not stay;
So I follow it, follow it ever and aye,
Over the hills and far away.)

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THE STORY OF PORT ARTHUR[1]

By George Kennan

Special Correspondent of The Outlook in the Far East

V.—A General Bombardment

IN order to give an intelligible description of the first bombardment that I witnessed at Port Arthur, and of the general assault that followed it, I find myself compelled to narrate, briefly, the history of the siege from the 1st of September to the third week in October.

At the time when I reached the front a story was current that after the disastrous assault in August a certain Japanese soldier found in one of the enemy's abandoned trenches, and took to headquarters as a curiosity, a Russian pick-ax, which had been used in digging until the curving iron of the head had been worn down to within two or three inches of the handle on each side. When the implement was brought to the attention of General Nogi, he called the officers of his staff together, held up before them the mute but eloquent witness to long-continued toil, and said, "Gentlemen, it is with this that the enemy has beaten us, and with this we must manage to beat him." The story may or may not be true, but certain it is that after the August assault the rifle became subordinate to the pickax and the shovel, and the Japanese army slowly made its way toward the Russian forts in zigzag trenches and parallels under the protection of an almost continuous fire from the batteries in its rear. The Russians obstructed the work as far as possible by pouring upon the trenches a hail of bullets from rifles and shrapnel, and by throwing into or at them large bursting projectiles from their heavy guns; but the Japanese sappers protected themselves as well as they could with sandbags and temporary roofing, picked up and sent to the rear their wounded and dead, and continued to dig. In less than three weeks they carried their approaches close to 203-Meter Hill on the extreme right (No. 1 on the map printed in my last article), and to a point less than sixty yards distant from Kuropatkin Fort and the strong Shuishi lunettes in the center (No. 9 and 10). Believing that these positions might then be taken by assault, General Nogi, on the 19th of September, ordered a night attack to be made, under cover of a heavy fire from all the batteries in that part of the field. After a bombardment lasting five or six hours the Japanese attempted to take Kuropatkin Fort with a rush, but were driven back by a storm of bullets from rifles and machine guns. Undismayed, however, by this repulse, they renewed the assault at 4 A.M., and finally captured the fort about daybreak. The lunettes were more difficult to take, for the reason that they covered more ground, had roofed trenches, and were protected by an extensive general crown-work and a deep moat; but, after two or three failures, the storming parties crossed the moat on scaling-ladder bridges of bamboo poles, shattered the covered defenses with hand-grenades, swarmed over the parapets, engaged the garrison in severe hand-to-hand fighting, and finally, about the middle of the forenoon, drove the enemy out and occupied the whole position.

In their attack on 203-Meter ill they were less successful. One of the three assaulting columns succeeded in reaching the summit on the northwestern side, and intrenched itself there in a position which it held for two days; but the Russians, meanwhile, had been strongly reinforced, and on the afternoon of the 22d they counter-attacked so vigorously that at six o'clock the Japanese, after forty-eight hours of almost continuous fighting, retired from the position

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that they had held so tenaciously, and abandoned for the time the attempt to take the hill. The loss of the Japanese in this series of attacks, in the center and on the right wing, was probably not less than four thousand men, and the net results were the capture of Kuropatkin Fort and the four lunettes near Shuishi village, and the occupation of a strongly intrenched ridge called Namakoyama, about seven hundred yards north of 203-Meter Hill. The price was a high one to pay, perhaps, for only three positions; but the occupation of Namakoyama gave the attacking forces another good observation point, as well as more sites for batteries of artillery, while the capture of Kuropatkin Fort and the lunettes opened up the Shuishi valley and enabled the First Division to begin siege operations against Sungshushan, one of the strongest and most important forts of the eastern sector.

While the trenches were being pushed forward in the direction of Sungshushan, Ehrlungshan, and the Keekwan forts, the Japanese were busily engaged in selecting positions and preparing emplacements for their 28-centimeter (11-inch) siege howitzers. These immense pieces of ordnance weighed fifteen or twenty tons each, and the work of mounting them on specially devised low-wheeled trucks and dragging them to the front was extremely difficult and arduous; but Chinese coolie labor is abundant on the Kwantung Peninsula, and if it were necessary to put five hundred men to a gun in hauling a truck up a hill, the men could easily be found. In order to insure accuracy of fire, the Japanese artillery officers mounted these big howitzers very carefully on steel-and-concrete turntables, like turntables for locomotives, which were set and made to rotate accurately, in solid concrete emplacements. A gun thus mounted could be turned through a wide horizontal angle, and, by means of a graduated scale just outside the periphery of the table upon which the carrier rested, the howitzer could be so adjusted and fixed as to throw two shots, or two hundred shots, one after another, in exactly the same vertical plane. The angle of elevation was determined by an instrument like a gunner's quadrant, which was applied to the breech of the piece after every shot. I refer to these details because they partly explain the great accuracy of the Japanese fire, and because the 28-centimeter howitzers—although they were only sixteen in number—did more, perhaps, to bring about the fall of Port Arthur than all the other Japanese guns put together. Photographs show that the large-caliber guns of the Russians were not mounted, as a rule, with anything like this care and skill. Some of them, in fact, rested on foundations of wooden beams, and turned on rails that were more or less out of level, so that aiming them was largely a matter of guesswork rather than of exact knowledge. This not only put the Russian gunners at a disadvantage in an artillery duel with the long-range Japanese batteries, but resulted in the virtual wasting of a large amount of heavy ammunition that could not be replaced. If the guns in the eastern sector of the defensive line had been mounted under the direction of Japanese artillery officers and served by Japanese gunners, I doubt very much whether a besieging army of Russians would ever have been able to push their trenches up to the very moats of the forts. They certainly could not have done it, as their adversaries did, in less than eight weeks. The first of the big Japanese howitzers was put in position to open fire about the 2d of October, the others a little later, and throughout the next three months they dropped 500-pound explosive projectiles into the city, the harbor, and the forts, at all hours of the day and night, and almost without intermission.

The Japanese, however, did not limit their auxiliary operations to the bringing up and putting in position of big siege guns. Early in September they set their aeronautic corps at work, inflated and sent up a captive balloon, and, from a height of fifteen hundred or two thousand feet, obtained a bird's-eye view of the whole southern end of the Kwantung Peninsula, including the city of Port Arthur, the harbor, and the country in the rear of the enemy's fortified line. They then laid down about ten miles of narrow-gauge tramway, around the whole

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semicircle of their gun positions, with branches leading to the largest and most important of their camps. By means of small flat cars, which soldiers or Chinese coolies pushed along the rails, they distributed, with great ease and rapidity, both ammunition for their batteries and food for their troops, while the Russians, inside their fortified line, were using, for the same purpose, nearly two thousand horses. Finally, they established and equipped a most complete and comprehensive system of telegraphs and telephones, by means of which they communicated not only with all their gun positions, but with Dalny, with the observing stations on Takushan and Hsiokushan, with Admiral Togo's fleet, and with every advanced parallel and the head of every trench from 203-Meter Hill on one side to the East Keekwanshan fort on the other. Through this network of electric nerves the directing brains of the army were instantly apprised of everything that happened within the field of action. If the Russians made a night sortie and attacked the sappers at the head of a particular trench, the commanding officer in that part of the line, who might perhaps be a mile away, did not have to guess, from the sound of the firing, what had happened and what the point of attack was. In less than five minutes he received a telephonic message from the very spot, with all the information that he needed. He then either ordered forward reinforcements, or, possibly, telephoned the commander of the nearest battery to pepper the Russians with shrapnel as they retired. If one of the enemy's western forts opened a galling fire upon a Japanese trench on the slope of Sungshushan, a telegraphic order was instantly sent to one of the western batteries of 28-centimeter guns to shut that fort up—and it was silenced forthwith. I saw a beautiful example of this sort of work on the 29th of October, and shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter. After providing all the facilities and conveniences, the Japanese still had time enough left to organize and train a corps of Chinese ambulance men and stretcher-bearers, to police the whole Kwantung Peninsula with a competent force of gendarmes, to look carefully after the sanitary condition of their trenches and camps, to open an experimental laboratory for testing and manufacturing hand-grenades and high explosives, and to establish a postal service which brought ten or twelve donkey-loads of mail matter from Dalny every day, and distributed it, by means of carriers, over an area about seven miles square.

After the assaults of September 19–22, the Japanese, for nearly a month, devoted themselves mainly to digging. Their batteries gave them as much protection as possible, by bombarding and keeping quiet the forts against which they were directing their operations, and now and then the big siege howitzers threw a few shells into the city or harbor of Port Arthur; but there was nothing like a serious attack by artillery or infantry until the 16th of October. Between four and five o'clock on the afternoon of that day a column of the Ninth Division suddenly rushed out of the advanced trenches in the left center, attacked furiously a small intrenched hill known as Hachimakiyama, a short distance east of Ehrlungshan, and, after a brief but fierce engagement, carried it by storm, killing outright more than a hundred of the garrison and capturing one field gun, two machine guns, a small-caliber quick-firer, and a quantity of ammunition. This gave the Japanese three intrenched hills in the eastern sector of the Russian defensive line. How they managed to hold them under the severe bombardment to which they were subjected I have never been able to understand. Twice the defensive works in the Panlungshan forts were almost completely destroyed by heavy shells; half a dozen times the Russians attempted to retake them by night assaults; and for many weeks the soldiers who defended them lived with camphor-saturated cloths tied over their faces on account of the terrible stench of the unburied bodies that lay all around on the slopes of the hills. For a time the Ninth Division lost seventy-five or a hundred men a day in the Panlungshan forts alone. Ability to "stick," however, where they have once acquired a foothold, is perhaps the most remarkable fighting characteristic of Japanese

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troops; and the soldiers who had taken these hills held them with bulldog tenacity, in spite of heat, stench, 11-inch shells, and the constant menace of sudden death.

When the Japanese formed their first line of investment, at the end of July, they were distant from the semicircle of Russian forts about two miles. When I reached the front, in October, they had taken three strongly intrenched hills in the eastern sector of the enemy's defensive line, and had pushed their trenches across the valley and up the slopes of the Russian hills to points that were within one hundred and sixty feet of the outworks that defended the approaches to the permanent forts. General Nogi's army, at that time, consisted of the First, Ninth, and Eleventh Divisions and the First and Fourth Independent Brigades of infantry, and was supported by perhaps thirty batteries of artillery, including sixteen 11-inch howitzers and a large but uncertain number of naval guns, field guns, 3-inch mortars, and small-caliber quick-firers. I have heard General Nogi's strength in artillery estimated at four hundred guns, of all kinds; but from what I saw in passing along the lines, and from the sound of the cannonade when all the heavy pieces, at least, were in action, I am inclined to regard this estimate as too large. Exclusive of machine guns and quick-firers, which are not of much use in siege operations, I should think that two hundred guns would be much nearer the mark. The numerical strength of the Third Army at that time was about 60,000 men, while the Russian force opposed to it, judging from the number who finally surrendered, must have been at least 35,000. In effective men, therefore, the attackers outnumbered the defenders in the proportion of nearly two to one. This preponderance of force, however, was much more than offset by difference of situation, inasmuch as the Japanese had to fight, for the most part, in the open, while the Russians were sheltered and protected by wire entanglements, extensive earthworks, cañon-like moats, bomb-proof casemates, and the walls of almost impregnable forts. A Japanese preponderance of three to one, or four to one, would have made the two armies more evenly matched.

Such, as nearly as I can describe it, was the situation on the evening of October 25, when Lieutenant Oata came to our house and informed us that a bombardment of the forts of the eastern sector would begin the next morning, and would probably last three or four days. At the end of that time the Ninth and Eleventh Divisions, co-operating with a part of the First, would make a grand assault upon Sungshushan, Ehrlungshan, the "P Fort," and the two Keekwans. He asked us to meet him at headquarters as early as possible—not later, in any event, than eight o'clock. With such exciting events in prospect, we went to bed as soon as we finished writing up our notes, having previously instructed the "boys" to call us at daybreak, and to have breakfast ready at seven.

When Aoki came into our room with a candle and preliminary coffee, on the morning of the 26th, our paper windows showed not a sign of dawn; everything at the front was still; and it seemed to me to be the middle of the night. The Chinese family in the other part of the house, however, was already up, and when I went out into the courtyard to take a look at the weather, I found Toku blacking my boots and brushing my clothes in the moonlight, while our landlord and his wife, with a long-hinged knife set in a wooden frame, were cutting up cornstalks for the donkeys. The sky was perfectly clear, and the great constellation of Orion stood almost directly overhead; but of daybreak there was not a glimmer. By the time, however, that we had eaten a smoky breakfast of ham and eggs cooked over a fire of dry cornstalk-roots, the sun was up; English sparrows had begun to chirp and twitter in the leafless branches of the trees at the end of the house; black-and-white Siberian magpies were hopping about the piles of refuse in front of the door; the village farmers were shouting "Woh! Woh!" and "Yuo! Yuo!" to their mules as they started for the fields to plow, or to collect more cornstalk-roots; while long trains of one-horse army carts, driven by soldiers and loaded with

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scraggy firewood from some distant Manchurian village in the hills, were raising clouds of yellowish dust from the powdery street as they jolted past our courtyard gate. The whole animate world was up and going about its business. Filling our canteens with boiled water and putting a few tins of preserved meat and a dozen cakes of flinty Japanese hard-bread into our haversacks for luncheon, we walked over to headquarters, picked up Lieutenant Oata, and started for the front.

It was one of those rare, sunny, windless days which sometimes come to Manchuria in the late fall, when the atmosphere is crystal clear; when the sky is almost as blue as that of Italy; and when weather and landscape seem to combine to suggest the return of summer or the advent of spring. Larks were soaring and singing over the newly plowed fields as we crossed the railroad track; crickets chirped contentedly in the dry grass of the embankment; belated dandelions brightened with discs of gold the margins of the dusty foot-paths; and on the slopes of the brown, arid-looking hills I found eleven varieties of flowers, including Manchurian pinks, dark-blue campanulas with drooping, serrated bells; reddish-purple pyrethrum, a species of cinquefoil which looked like a yellow strawberry blossom, and a curious but attractive plant which united the gray foliage of a "dusty miller" with the flower of a delicate, sky-blue hepatica.

But flowers were not the only things of interest to be found on the slopes of the hills. Upon this range the Russians made their last stand before they were driven into the forts of Port Arthur; and when they finally retired, they left behind them many evidences of occupation and signs of combat. Scattered here and there among the pinks and campanulas were the large gray bullets of Japanese shrapnel, and near a sort of dug-out or hollow, where half a dozen soldiers had slept, Mr. Curtis picked up a part of a Russian private's note-book containing, among other things, a long list of "Sashas," "Mitkas," "Ivans," and "Yakims" who had belonged, apparently, to the writer's company or mess. There seemed to be something strangely incongruous in the mingling of flowers with the leaden hail of shrapnel, and in the peaceful chirping of crickets around weather-stained pages that bore the names of many "Sashas" and "Ivans" who doubtless had long been dead.

We stopped for a few moments to pick up bullets and collect flowers, and then, crossing a spur of the range, walked up a deep, narrow ravine to the foot of the peak from which General Nogi and his staff were accustomed to watch operations when an assault had been ordered, or when there was likely to be a general action. From this center of directing and controlling activity insulated telegraph and telephone wires radiated in every direction; and it was easy to see that an officer occupying such a peak and using such means of communication would have perfect command of the whole field. Turning to the left at the head of the ravine, we climbed six or seven hundred feet, in sharp zigzags, up the almost precipitous side of the mountain, and finally threw ourselves down, breathless and tired, on the crest of the range, a quarter of a mile east of the peak occupied by General Nogi and his staff.

The air was clearer than on the previous day, and the early morning sunshine, falling athwart the semicircle of Russian hills, enabled me to make out, with a good glass, some details that I had not before seen, or had failed to notice. Among them was a series of auxiliary earthworks protecting the approaches to the forts in front, flanking them from the sides, or overlooking them from the rear. After the August assault, which demonstrated the possibility of getting through the fortified line and over the Chinese wall, the Russians dug trenches, threw up embankments, and mounted guns on the slopes of Wangtai (No. 24) behind the wall, and also strengthened the fortified line itself by adding to the number of intrenched positions between the P Fort and East Keekwanshan (Nos. 16 and 18). At the same time, or perhaps earlier, they constructed in front of Sungshushan, Ehrlungshan, and East Keekwan formidable outworks, or redoubts, which were connected by field caponieres with the

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forts that they protected, and were armed with small-caliber quick-firers and machine guns. I also discovered that the Japanese were occupying what seemed to be an absolutely defenseless and untenable position in the ravine between Sungshushan and Ehrlungshan, or, to speak with greater precision, on the eastern side of that ravine, under the very walls of Ehrlungshan itself.

I should not have believed it possible that they could hold such a place if I had not been able to see the clothing and the red blankets that Japanese soldiers always hang up to air, or spread out on the ground to dry, in the positions that they occupy. Hachimakiyama and the two Panlung hills were marked and made distinguishable in the same way. The defenselessness of this advanced post, however, was probably apparent rather than real. From an elevation of seven hundred feet many positions appear to be open to direct fire when in reality they are perfectly—or at least adequately—sheltered by low hills or undulations which, seen from a distant height, look almost flat. Such was the case, for example, with the headquarters of the Ninth Division. From 229-Meter Hill it seemed to be exposed to direct fire from three or four of the Russian forts; but when I visited it, a few days later, I found, to my surprise, that it was almost perfectly sheltered by a long range of steep bluffs, and could not be seen from any part of the Russian position.

The general bombardment began about half-past eight with an uprush of white smoke and a deep, mellow boom from one of the 11-inch howitzers in a concealed battery on our left. After an interval of seventeen seconds, the ponderous shell that the big gun had thrown across the valley burst in the very center of the North Keekwan fort, throwing to a height of seventy or eighty feet a geyser-like column of brownish smoke and dust which looked almost exactly like a secondary volcanic eruption on the western slope of Mont Pelée. A few minutes later another howitzer a little nearer the enemy's line hurled a 500-pound shell into the East Keekwan fort, while a third, mounted in some valley far to the westward, sent a projectile of the same kind into the moat of Sungshushan. At the end of half an hour all of the howitzer batteries were in action and the general bombardment had begun. So far as rapidity of fire and volume of sound were concerned, the cannonade seemed to me weak and disappointing. In my ignorance and inexperience I had anticipated that all of General Nogi's two hundred guns would open fire at once; that they would be loaded and discharged as rapidly as possible; that the enemy would immediately reply; and that the air would be filled with an almost continuous roar of cannon and bursting shells. Nothing of the kind happened. The only guns that went into action were the howitzers; they fired at very long intervals, so that on an average there was not more than one discharge every three minutes, and the enemy at first made no reply whatever. If it had not been for the wonderful accuracy and precision with which the Japanese gunners dropped big shells into the forts, the bombardment, as a spectacle, would have been wholly devoid of interest.

There were good reasons, however, for the slowness of the howitzer fire. General Nogi had only sixteen of these big guns, and as they could not easily be replaced if injured or destroyed, they were as precious as Admiral Togo's battle-ships, and for the same reason. It was necessary, therefore, to put them, as far as possible, in places of safety; and they were distributed, here and there, in valleys or ravines that were sheltered from all parts of the Russian line by hills. The gunners, in such situations, could not see the forts at which they were firing, and their aim had to be directed from some commanding position outside. The observing station for all of the eastern batteries was the Gibraltar of Takushan (No. 21), where several artillery officers were posted to watch the fall of the shells, and where the howitzers in the distant batteries were virtually aimed by telephone. The guns and their crews were in the sheltered valleys, but the gun-pointers were two miles away on the top of Takushan. Inasmuch as the Japanese ordnance

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officers at Port Arthur were cool, level-headed, and well-instructed men, they knew very well that the fate of besieged forts is determined by the number of hits scored, and not at all by the number of rounds fired. They worked their guns, therefore, no faster than they could receive reports and directions from Takushan, and the result was that, in about nine hours of bombardment, they made a record of two hundred and fifty hits, or, to state the case in another way, they threw into four forts nearly fifty tons of huge percussion shells, ninety-five per cent. of which exploded. When the fact is taken into consideration that these shells were thrown from an average distance of about two miles, and that all the guns were aimed by telephone, the record was certainly very creditable to Japanese science and skill. The bombardment, from our point of view, seemed slow, but it was apparently too rapid for the Russians, inasmuch as they made no attempt whatever to reply. I did not see a gun fired from any of the forts upon which this iron hail was falling. So far as we, at a distance, could judge, the garrisons were all under the cover of bomb-proofs; but even there they were not perfectly safe. Again and again I saw big sticks of timber, evidently from the pierced roof of an earth-covered bomb-proof, thrown fifty feet in air by the explosion of a howitzer shell, which, dropping like a meteor from the sky, seemed to fill the whole fort with smoke, dust, and flying fragments of concrete. According to the official report of the day's proceedings, a partial breach was made in the front parapet of the Ehrlung fort and three large guns were dismounted or destroyed in Sungshushan and the north fort of Keekwan.

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon the bombardment began, for the first time, to be really "general" and fairly impressive. One after another the four batteries of naval guns on the lower range of hills in front of us went into action; ten or fifteen large-caliber pieces using smokeless powder began pounding away on the other side of the railroad; the field artillery and small siege mortars opened fire all along the line; the "babies"—as the soldiers called the 11-inch howitzers—increased the rapidity of their thunderous speech; and by half-past four all of General Nogi's two hundred guns were really at work, and the cannonade had developed into something like a continuous roar. Then, for the first time, the Russians seemed to wake up. The four flags that gave notice of a general engagement were hoisted on the staff of the signal station at Golden Hill; the great forts of Itzushan and Antzushan opened fire; a concealed battery directly opposite us began throwing 6-inch shells over our heads or into the Japanese gun positions in front of us; while on the other side of the valley shell-bursts were so numerous as to make the Russian hills look like a semicircle of small brown volcanoes, spouting dust, smoke, and stones from a score of active but scattered craters.

A little after five o'clock, when the bombardment was at its height, there was a wholly unexpected development which must have surprised the Russians as much as it did us. Detachments of infantry suddenly swarmed out of the advanced Japanese trenches on the slopes of Sungshushan and Ehrlungshan, and, under cover of the tremendous artillery fire, proceeded to storm the outlying redoubts by which those forts were protected from direct assault. This sudden attack called into action every Russian gun that could be brought to bear on the Japanese positions, from one side of the peninsula to the other; and in less than five minutes the whole Shuishi valley was an inferno of roaring cannon, whistling shells, sputtering rifles, explosive eruptions of volcanic smoke, and a fog of yellow dust lashed up by the metallic hail from small blue thunder-clouds of bursting shrapnel. Even the dry official report says that "the scene for a time was terrible beyond description;" and when the Russians, in order to stop the Japanese advance, exploded a huge mine on the glacis of Ehrlungshan and sent heavenward a towering pillar of powder-smoke mixed with earth, dust, and fragments of rock, I was forced to admit that, although the bombardment promised little at the beginning, it culminated, not only in a magnificent

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spectacle, but in a display of furious destructive energy which, although human in its origin, was hardly surpassed by the resistless dynamic power of an exploding volcano. Owing to the distance at which we were and the smoke that half hid the slopes of the Russian hills, we could not see the infantry fighting distinctly enough to be certain of the result; but we learned later that the Japanese storming parties drove the Russians out of the Ehrlungshan earthworks and the Sungshushan redoubt, and that at sunset they were holding both of the captured positions directly in front of the two forts.

At six o'clock the artillery fire on both sides slackened, and, as it would soon be dark and we had nearly four miles to walk, we left the bare mountain top, where the air had already grown cold, and, descending a long zigzag path to the valley, started across the plowed fields in the direction of Liukiaton.

Outlines of an Indian Policy

By Francis E. Leupp

Commissioner of Indian Affairs

THE commonest mistake made by his white well-wishers in dealing with the Indian is the assumption that he is simply a white man with a red skin; the next commonest is the assumption that because he is a non-Caucasian he is to be classed indiscriminately with other non-Caucasians, like the negro, for instance. The truth is that the Indian has as distinct an individuality as any type of man who ever lived, and he will never be judged aright till we learn to measure him by his own standards, as we whites would wish to be measured if some more powerful race were to usurp dominion over us. In the nearly twenty years that I have been studying the Indian face to face in his own home, I have held no brief for him in his resistance to the encroachments of civilization; I have sought no profit from handling his land or his money; I have had no pet philanthropy to advance, no ethnological thesis to defend. My whole purpose and desire has been to know him as a man and a future fellow-citizen, and to help him, as far as in my power lay, to get a practical start in the world. Therefore, what I have to say in these pages must derive its value, if it have any, from its appeal to common sense alone.

If, a few centuries ago, an absolutely alien people like the Chinese had invaded our shores and driven the white colonists before them to districts more and more isolated, destroyed the industries on which they had always subsisted, and crowned all by disarming them and penning them on various tracts of land where they could be fed and clothed and cared for at no cost to themselves, to what condition would the white Americans of to-day have been reduced? In spite of their vigorous ancestry, they would surely have lapsed into barbarism and become pauperized. No race on earth could overcome, from forces evolved from within themselves, the effect of such treatment. That our red brethren have not been wholly ruined by it is the best proof we could ask of the sturdy traits of character inherent in them. But though not ruined, they have suffered serious deterioration, and the problem now before us is to prevent its going any further. To that end we must reckon with several facts.

First, nothing can be done to change the Indian who has already passed middle life. By virtue of that very quality of steadfastness which we admire in him when well applied, he will remain an Indian of the old school to the last, and all we can expect is to make his declining years as comfortable as possible. With the younger adults we can do something here and there, where we find one who is not too conservative; but our main hope lies with the youthful generation, who are still measurably plastic. The picture which rises in the minds of most Eastern white persons when they read petitions in which Indians patheti-

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cally describe themselves as "ignorant" and "poor," is that of a group of red men hungry for knowledge and eager for a chance to work and earn their living. In actual life and in his natural state, however, the Indian is suspicious of the white race—we can hardly blame him for that—and wants nothing to do with us; he clings to the ways of his ancestors, insisting that they are better than ours; and he resents every effort of the Government either to educate his children or to show him how he can turn an honest dollar for himself by other means than his grandfather used—or by an appropriation from the Treasury. That is the plain truth of the situation, strive as we may to gloss it with poetic fancies or hide it under statistical reports of progress. The task we have before us is to win over the Indian children by sympathetic interest and unobtrusive guidance. It is a great mistake to try, as many good persons of bad judgment have tried, to start the little ones in the path of civilization by snapping all the ties of affection between them and their parents, and teaching them to despise the aged and non-progressive members of their families. The sensible as well as the humane plan is to nourish their love of father and mother and home—a wholesome instinct which nature planted in them for a wise end—and then to utilize this affection as a means of reaching, through them, the hearts of the elders.

Again, in dealing with these boys and girls it is of the utmost importance not only that we start them aright, but that our efforts be directed to educating rather than instructing them. And here let me say that the foundation of everything must be the development of character. Learning is a secondary consideration. When we get to that, our duty is to adapt it to the Indian's immediate and practical needs. Of the thirty or forty thousand Indian children of school age in the United States, I venture to say that at least three-fourths will settle down in that part of the West which we still style the frontier. Most of these will try to draw a living out of the soil; a less—though I hope an ever-increasing—part will enter the general labor market as lumbermen, ditchers, miners, railroad hands, or what not. Now, if any one can show me what advantage will come to this large body of manual workers from being able to reel off the names of the mountains in Asia, or extract the cube root of 123456789, I shall be deeply grateful. To my notion, the ordinary Indian boy is better equipped for his life struggle on a frontier ranch when he can read the simple English of the local newspaper, can write a short letter, intelligible though maybe ill spelled, and knows enough of figures to discover whether the storekeeper is cheating him. Beyond these scholastic accomplishments his time could be put to its best use by learning how to repair a broken harness, how to straighten a sprung tire on his wagon-wheel, how to fasten a loose horseshoe without breaking the hoof, and how to do the hundred other bits of handy tinkering which are so necessary to the farmer who lives thirty miles from a town. The girl who has learned only the rudiments of reading, writing, and ciphering, but knows also how to make and mend her clothing, to wash and iron, and to cook her husband's dinner, will be worth vastly more as mistress of a log cabin than one who has given years of study to the ornamental branches alone.

Moreover, as fast as an Indian of either mixed or full blood is capable of taking care of himself, it is our duty to set him upon his feet, and sever forever the ties which bind him either to his tribe—in the communal sense—or to the Government. This principle must become operative in respect to both land and money. We must end the un-American absurdity of keeping one class of our people in a condition of so many undivided portions of a common lump. Each Indian must be recognized as an individual and so treated, just as each white man is. Suppose our Congress were to enact a bill every session, one paragraph of which should be applicable solely to persons with red hair, another solely to persons with round chins, another solely to persons with Roman noses? Yet this would be no more illogical in principle than our yearly Indian legislation making one sweeping provision for all Osages,

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another for all Pawnees, another for all Yankton Sioux, as if these several tribes were not composed of men and women and children with as diverse human characteristics as any equal groups of Germans or Italians. Thanks to the late Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, we have for eighteen years been individualizing the Indian as an owner of real estate by breaking up, one at a time, the reservations set apart for whole tribes, and establishing each Indian as a separate landholder on his own account; thanks to John F. Lacey, of Iowa, I hope that we shall soon be making the same sort of division of the tribal funds. At first, of course, the Government must keep its protecting hand on every Indian's property after it has been assigned to him by book and deed; then, as one or another shows himself capable of passing out from under this tutelage, he should be set fully free, and given "the white man's chance," with the white man's obligations to balance it.

Finally, we must strive in every way possible to make the Indian an active factor in the upbuilding of the community in which he is going to live. The local frontier theory that he is a sort of necessary nuisance surviving from a remote period, like the sage-brush and the giant cactus, must be dispelled, and the way to dispel it is to turn him into a positive benefit. To this end I would, for instance, teach him to transact all of his financial business that he can in his nearest market town, instead of looking to the United States Treasury as the only source of material blessings. Any money of his which he cannot use, or is not using, for his own current profit I should prefer to deposit for him, in reasonably small parcels, in local banks which will bond themselves sufficiently for its safe keeping, so that the industries of the neighborhood will have the use of it, and everybody thereabout will be the better off for such prosperity as may come to an Indian depositor. On like grounds of reasoning I should encourage every proper measure which points toward absolving the Indian from his obsolete relation to the licensed trader, and teaches him to make his purchases from those merchants who will ask of him the fairest price, whether near the Agency or at a distance. In short, our aim ought to be to keep him moving steadily down the path which leads from his close domain of artificial restraints and artificial protection toward the broad area of individual liberty enjoyed by the ordinary citizen.

Incidentally to this programme, I should seek to make of the Indian an independent laborer, as distinguished from one for whom the Government is continually straining itself to find something to do. He can penetrate a humbug—even a benevolent humbug—as promptly as the next man; and when he sees the Government inventing purely fictitious needs to be supplied and making excuses of one kind and another to create a means of employment for him, he despises the whole thing as a fraud, like the white man whom some philanthropist hires to carry a pile of bricks from one side of the road to the other and then back again. I have recently organized an employment bureau for the Indians in the Southwest, and put an active young man at the head of it with instructions to gather up all the able-bodied Indians who, through the pinch of hunger it may be, have been moved to think that they would like to earn some money, and plant them on ranches, on railroads, in mines—wherever in the outer world, in short, there is an opening for a dollar to be gotten for a day's work. He is to supervise their contracts with their employers, see that their wages are paid them when due, and look out for them if they fall ill; for the rest, the Indians engaged are to be required to stand on their own feet like other men, and to understand that for what comes to them hereafter they will have themselves to thank. It is an experiment, of course; but the young man whom I have designated to start it, and who is himself of Indian blood, knows that he is in the service to work for his shoulder-straps, with the door of humiliation yawning behind him if he fails.

Some one has styled mine a policy of shrinkage, because every Indian whose name is stricken from a tribal roll by virtue of his emancipation reduces the dimensions of our red race problem by

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a fraction—very small, it may be, but not negligible. If we can thus gradually watch our body of 270,000 Indians shrink to 269,000, and this to 268,000, and so on, we may congratulate ourselves that the final solution is indeed only a question of time.

The process of general readjustment must be gradual, but it should be carried forward as fast as it can be with presumptive security for the Indian's little possessions; and I should not let its educative value for both the red man and his white neighbor be obscured for a moment. The leading-strings which have tied the Indian to the Treasury ever since he began to own anything of value have been a curse to him. They have kept him an economic nursling long past the time when he ought to have been able to take a few steps alone. The tendency of whatever crude training in money matters he has had for the last half-century has been toward making him an easy victim to such waves of civic heresy as swept over the country in the early nineties. That is not the sort of politics into which we wish the Indian to plunge as he assumes the responsibilities of citizenship.

In sketching so bare an outline of a policy for Indian civilization as the space at my command here will permit, I must leave the minds of my readers to work in a great deal of the detail that otherwise I should be glad to supply. The subject is too vast for any single article, or limited series of articles, to treat exhaustively. I should not feel satisfied to leave it, however, without trying to meet a few conventional objections which I know from experience are sure to be raised. "Would you," one critic will ask, "tie the young Indian down in his schooling to 'the three r's,' and then turn him loose to compete with the white youth who have had so much larger scholastic opportunity?"

Who, pray, said anything about "opportunity"? I would give the young Indian all the chance for intellectual training that the young Caucasian enjoys; he has it already between Governmental aid and private benevolence; and I feel safe in guaranteeing that, while I remain Commissioner of Indian Affairs, no young Indian with the talent to deserve and the ambition to ask for the best there is in American education will be refused. All that I have asserted is what anybody familiar with the field can see for himself—that the mass of Indian children, like the corresponding mass of white children, are not prepared for conveyance beyond the elementary studies. They are not in a condition to absorb and assimilate, or to utilize effectively, the higher learning of the books, and it is unwise to promote an unpractical at the expense of an obviously practical system of teaching. Moreover, unlike the average Caucasian, the average Indian hates new things on the mere ground of their novelty, and resists obstinately all attempts from outside to change his condition; while, unlike the negro and some other colored types, he has no strain of the imitative in his nature, and never aspires from within to be a white man. Whatever you do for him in the line of improvement, you have, as a rule, to press upon him by endless patience and tact, and by a multitude of persuasive devices; and I insist that it is foolish to force upon an Indian those studies which have no relation to his environment and which he cannot turn to account, as long as there is so much of a simpler sort which he is capable of learning and which he actually must know in order to make his way in the world.

A second critic will doubtless air his fears as to what will become of the Indian's land and money under this "wide open" policy. Well, what is to become of the land or the money that you are going to leave to your children, or I to mine? Will they be any better able to take care of it for having been always kept without experience in handling property of any kind? Swindlers will unquestionably lay snares for the weakest and most ignorant Indians, just as they do for the corresponding class of whites. We are guarding the Indian temporarily against his own follies in land transactions by holding his allotment in trust for him for twenty-five years, unless he sooner satisfies us of his business capacity. Something of the same sort will be done with respect

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to the principal of his money. In spite of all our care, however, after we have taken our hands off him he may fall a victim to sharp practice; but you never saw the man, red, white, or of any other color, who did not learn a more valuable lesson from one hard blow than from twenty warnings.

A great deal has been said and written about the "racial tendency" of the Indian to squander whatever comes into his hands. This is no more "racial" than his tendency to eat and drink to excess, or to prefer pleasure to work; it is simply the assertion of a primitive instinct common to all mankind in the lower stages of social development. What we call thrift is nothing but the forecasting sense which recognizes the probability of a to-morrow, and the idea of a to-morrow is the boundary between barbarism and civilization; and the only way in which the Indian can be carried across that line is by letting him learn from experience that the stomach filled to-day will go empty to-morrow unless something of to-day's surplus is saved overnight to meet to-morrow's deficit. Another sense lacking in primitive man is that of property unseen. You will never implant in the Indian an idea of values by showing him a column of figures. He must see and handle the dollars themselves in order to learn their worth, and he must actually squander some and pay the penalty of loss before his mind will compass the notion that he cannot spend them for foolishness and still have them at hand for the satisfaction of his needs.

A further charge will be hurled against my programme, that it is premature. Such an objection is enough of itself to prove that the objector has sought counsel of his timidity rather than of his observation. If we do not begin now, when shall we? The whole trend of events, to any mind that studies it sincerely, will commend the plan I have tried to sketch out. One day must come to the Indian the great change from his present status to that of the rest of our population, for anomalies in the social system are as odious as abnormalities in nature. If you were on an upper floor of a high building, and must reach the ground but did not know how, would you rather take your chances of a stranger's throwing you out of a window, or let a friend guide you down the stairs a step at a time? Either our generation or a later will remove the Indian from his perch of adventitious superiority to the common relations of citizenship, and reduce him to the same level with other Americans. I, for one, prefer to start the undertaking myself and guide it, and I am ready to take my share of responsibility for it; for I do not know who may have the direction of it at some later period—whether a friend of my red brother, or an enemy, or one who regards him and his fate with indifference.

Perhaps, in the course of merging this hardly used race into our body politic, many individuals, unable to keep up the pace, may fall by the wayside and be trodden underfoot. Deeply as we deplore this possibility, we must not let it blind us to our duty to the race as a whole. It is one of the cruel incidents of all civilization in large masses that some—perchance a multitude—of its subjects will be lost in the process. But the unseen hand which has helped the white man through his evolutionary stages to the present will, let us trust, be held out to the red pilgrim in his stumbling progress over the same rough path.

Three Lessons

By Tudor Jenks

Hardly worth having is what has been bought;
Scarce worth the finding, that we have sought;
Least worth our learning, that which is taught.

Things the most priceless are given away;
Highest, the goal we reach when astray;
Wisdom begins as we cease to obey.

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Hans Christian Andersen

By Paul Harboe

JUST now, one hundred years after his birth, Odense is taking on a mass of bright colors to celebrate the centennial of her famous son, than whom there was never a more conspicuous figure—never, indeed, such a tireless traveler. And has any writer of the last century enjoyed the hospitality of so many monarchs and people of high capacity as did Hans Christian Andersen, whose father was a cobbler, and whose mother was a little fussy woman, loose of tongue and weak of will?

After all, when it sufficiently understands, the world is quick to respond to the affection of the man who would swell its volume of joy. It loves the cheerful spirit, the nature in which human kindness is a quality not too strictly gauged by wisdom. There is a sort of fruit which falls from the Tree of Knowledge and is not bruised; such fruit lasts through the winters of one's life and preserves its freshness in spite of time. We cannot read such little bits of exquisite realism as "The Ugly Duckling," "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," or "The Little Match-Girl," without tasting of this kind of fruit. The writer of these stories was a child, essentially in the way he loved the world, and the world in turn was a child in the way it loved him.

His autobiography is a record of his hundred excursions to Germany, Italy, England, Sweden, which latter country he was especially fond of, for the reason, as we may presume, that it was at Lund he was triumphantly received, before his name had reached the ear of the Danish world, before the door of his dainty playroom had been opened to all. The students of the University had said to him: "When your native land and the nations of Europe offer you their homage, may you never forget that the first public honors were conferred on you by us."

He never forgot.

Hans remembered to his last day every act of kindness that had brightened his life, and we know of no more grateful spirit. There is in what we generally call his vanity, his self-reference, in the tone of his expression, something that speaks clearly of gratitude. His critics in Denmark—those living and those long dead—have said enough on the subject of his conceit; have, in fact, besmirched his name, inventing anecdotes of doubtful quality and of most trifling value to hang like tags on his coat. Heiberg, a merciless rival, was his bitterest enemy, and it is unfortunate that so much of typical Danish prejudice and antipathy should have been personified in this man, who even went so far as to ridicule Andersen in a work of art called "A Soul after Death." Hans was a patient man; but anger is a wave that may roll over all of us, and there were times when the red blood of the fighter ran fast in his gaunt frame, and made his long curly hair shake like that of a man ready for fierce combat. Some one once wrote: "He is so vain that he tells us himself that he is a poet." To this slur Andersen responded: "There is something so pitiful in such criticism that one cannot be wounded by it; but even when we are the most peaceable of men, we feel a desire to flagellate such wet dogs who come into our rooms and fling themselves down in the best places there. There might be a whole 'Fool's Chronicle' written of all the absurd and shameless things which, from my first appearance before the public to this moment, I have been compelled to hear."

There was much to make light of, much to smile at, and much to talk jestingly of in the personality of Hans Christian Andersen. He had whims, pranks; he could be moody and irritable—but then he was a bachelor, and this explains something. He was homeless, yes, homeless, in spite of the brilliant halls that had known his presence, in spite of a hundred friends who were ever ready to receive him—rich men, famous men, good men. Among these friends it is proper to name his benefactor, Mr. Jonas Collin, who saw Hans through the Latin School, who encour-

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aged and guided him from the boy's first beginning till the hour when fame was a fixed star. The march was longer, really, than it may seem to many, though there were successes innumerable between the stops on the way, for it was never, at any period of his life, Andersen's ambition to attain a glorious reputation as a writer of fairy tales. In conscience we can say that his most delightful little stories never struck him as being of very considerable merit or value. He knew that they pleased the world, that little children in far-away lands wept or laughed over them and spoke his name with a dear familiarity and longed to see him, and all this was of course an immense satisfaction. He wanted to become a playwright, the leading playwright of his country, and Heaven knows his efforts to overturn the many obstacles that seemed continually in his way were laudable, though somewhat foolish. The dramatic element, for which he had an understanding eye, was not such as could bear representation on the stage. It was his inimitable way of putting down the thing, of telling all about what was not seen from without, and by revealing his sympathy for the little people of his fancy—a sympathy that was as pure as it was broad—that he so captivated the heart that it takes an almost brutal critic to be anything but gentle with him.

His intellectual growth did not take place under favorable circumstances. The idea that he was to become famous was beaten into his consciousness before dawn; fame grew to be all he really at bottom cared for—fame and the tributaries of fame. In many ways his attitude toward the world was the actor's; if you hadn't read, if you couldn't admire his productions, you were no friend of his, and, although he was the most popular writer in Denmark for many years, he never thought that his countrymen made enough of him. In London, during his visit there, he was everywhere celebrated, everywhere flattered, and hailed as the Danish Walter Scott, which he made it his business to tell his compatriots, in loud tones, on his return. He even went so far as to add, "I am the greatest writer of to-day," or words to that effect. At such outpourings even his friends would smile, though never contradicting him. They were exceedingly gentle, his friends; extremely few of them ever managed, while he lived, to understand the very unusual construction, as we may say, of his nature. After his death, however, he came to stand in a clearer light before them, before all of us. We know of how he hoarded up all sorts of trifles—sea-shells, toys, charms, etc., mementoes of some interesting occasion, scraps of paper with a child's writing upon it, even things written by himself when a boy of eight, at the period when he composed his very first poem.

The child who reads "The Story of My Life" must exclaim, "What a lucky boy!" for fortune was consistently putting out her hand and helping him on, in his childhood, in his youth, in his manhood. And Hans was ambitious. With no concern for the social problems of man, no desire to run his plow through the tough ground of human conditions, he was never a dangerous political force. He could write beautifully about suffering, neglected children, but it was the picturesque side more than any other of their plight that appealed to him. We sympathize with the innocent little folk who suffer, in his tales, but one's feeling for them does not stir up thought, does not form a problem in the mind. His subjects are, after all, small, in that they address themselves as whispers to the heart only. But if they had been of any weightier stuff, like the fairy tales of the Persians, for instance, the world's children would never, of course, have been so touched by the sheer simplicity of these fancies.

It was an odd life this author led—odd even for a literary man. Never did Hans sigh for peace, for the comfort that is so sweet and so substantial a fruit of harmony. It appears that he had no strong longing for serious, durable intercourse with any one. Again and again he beckoned to him flattering people of mean merit, since to hear himself praised was his insatiable thirst. This was the weakness that threatened to make him ridiculous. When, on the streets, he happened to hear some

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passer-by mention his name, he would invariably stop and listen, and even go and meet this unknown friend—his vanity pleased. This was like standing before a mirror, grateful at seeing the reflection in the inanimate glass.

During the many years he lived in Copenhagen he never tried to have decent apartments. His quarters were not more spacious than the ordinary hall room of our notorious furnished-room houses, and never properly kept. He took his meals out, his landlady bringing him every morning coffee and rolls, as is the custom in Denmark. But of course, with fame's bright badge in his buttonhole, he was always a welcome dinner guest at the homes of the rich. He was a good entertainer, a lively partner at meals, but he never told a joke at his own expense; in fact, he told very few jokes at all. What he did tell was some story of how Elizabeth Barrett Browning had received him in Rome, or of how Charles Dickens had lavished his hospitality upon him at Broadstairs.

Some men have tried to prove that Andersen disliked children, and certain incidents, notably his protest against a statue which represents the author as reading to a group of little boys and girls, have been brought forth to back up this assertion. On the other hand, many circumstances seem to say that he was heartily fond of young peeple. It is certainly hard to imagine him not being so. Of course in his advanced age the prattle of urchins grated on his nerves, and he grew less and less patient with his fellow-beings as he grew more and more eccentric in his general demeanor. Hans had the pretensions of a Beau Brummel, and a measurable proportion of his income went to his tailor, who was always paid promptly. Fortunate tailor! He was devoted to his trusty curling-iron, which accompanied him on all his travels and without which he was never perfectly at ease. Another object constantly in his possession was a little tin soldier, a present from a seven-year-old son of the German poet Moser—a Turkish warrior who never, in spite of Andersen's promise, recorded his experiences.

There is a beautiful little song entitled "Two Brown Eyes," which is often sung in Scandinavia. The words are by Andersen, while the music is Edvard Grieg's. The sentiment in this is poetic though crude, but its history is particularly interesting for the fact that it had an inspirer, as none of Andersen's other compositions may be said to have had. He once fell in love; he loved a young woman ardently for some time, till he found out she was engaged. Then, without the fight that might have glorified him, he bowed his head and walked away in sorrow, and the young woman married the other man. This was his solitary love affair, and it appears to have seemed most momentous to him. She had brown eyes, the young lady who for a few short days made his heart leap with hope.

The war between Germany and Denmark in 1864 put Hans in an awkward place. He was even accused of being disloyal to his country for taking a negative stand in the national question. His well-wishers in the German Empire were thousands, and he felt that his country was fighting against his personal friends. The spirit of patriotism was keen in Denmark; the acknowledged poets were writing songs that stirred the blood of fighters and public alike, but Hans found it painful to encourage his people to kill their foreign brothers. Still, seeing battle after battle lost, hero after hero slain, and hearing literally the lamentation of widows, the sobbing of fathers, the sensitive writer awoke to the immensity of the issue, and he did write one poem that, as might be said, saved his reputation. To the Danish heart the greatest men are those who love their country; patriotism stands above all other virtues in value, yet to some the Danish view of what constitutes true patriotism seems narrow.

The religion of Hans Christian Andersen was unorthodox. While he firmly believed in the personal God and in a future life, he ridiculed the idea of any such place of torture as the hell of sulphur, though the logic of his argumentation was never very convincing. There was a time, by the way, when he considered himself a profound philosopher. This was only a stage of his development. He was anything but a philoso-

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pher. His vision of the world was limited to the life, to the daily actions of human beings to whom the daily bread is the only food worth struggling for. His characters had ideals—ideals born of traditions, and their longings, their fears, their hopes, their dreams, were so described by him and so appreciated as to make a picture somewhat attractive, though somewhat unreal. Andersen's God was the God of forgiveness, of kindness, and, like many another man, he could never fancy that an all-wise and all-loving Spirit could have been cruel enough to fashion a hell, to punish eternally his own children for sins committed in a brief lifetime. In such sentiments the line of his character runs parallel to that of Dickens, who had a fine, a very delicate understanding of the Danish author, which the following quotation from a letter to Andersen in 1847 fittingly illustrates. Andersen had sent his book, "A Christmas Greeting to My English Friends," dedicated to Dickens, to that author.

> Your book made my Christmas hearth very happy. We are all enchanted by it. The little boy, the old man, and the tin soldier are especially my favorites. I have repeatedly read that story, and read it with the most unspeakable pleasure. . . . Come again to England soon! But whatever you do, do not stop writing, because we cannot bear to lose a single one of your thoughts. They are too true and simply beautiful to be kept safe only in your own head.

Andersen's fame outshines by far the reputation of any other Danish celebrity of past or present in the breadth of its scope. This fact is often commented upon by fault finding critical spirits, who reproach the world for its poor judgment in the matter of taste, and to get "square" dub the cobbler's son a second-rater, infinitely subordinate to such men as Holberg, Blicker, etc., pathfinders in the wilderness of Danish literature. But why should any one belittle the delightful writer of fairy tales? Surely, Andersen's achievement was remarkable for its very originality. He was the first native author who made the difficult journey into the land of childhood without affectation or bribes. This was his enviable distinction, though he could never himself quite understand it. There were many other things closely connected with his own life which Hans passed unwittingly by. For instance, he never consciously took his own spiritual measure; he never thoroughly tested the importance of his personal convictions; in short, his self-subjected experience was well-nigh fruitless. What a novel he might have written from the vast material his acquaintance with kings, barons, dukes, high officials of state, etc., must have put into his hands! He knew the greater part of Continental Europe as we know our home city; he met, undoubtedly, hundreds of people well worth the labor of psychological study; but with his propensity for purely imaginative composition, actuality never attracted him—it was too stern a fact, and he would shrink back before it.

Andersen lived with the fear of death looming up on his horizon at all hours. He feared he was to die in some horrible manner, from blood-poisoning, cancer, or other disease similarly painful and atrocious. His sensitiveness was that of a person physically unwell, of the indoor man. As a matter of fact, Hans was but slightly interested in bodily exercise; he did little to make his muscles firm and strong. He took his walks not so much for the healthfulness of motion as for the fad of the thing. He liked to be noticed on the boulevards; half the town knew him; even children, who frequently addressed him with frankness, and had remarks to make on his new gloves or his fine polished boots, called him their friend. The author never reproached them; he considered them on such occasions delightfully clever. It is said that once when, in company with the King, Andersen stopped to ask an urchin to tell him who he was, the little fellow replied, "You are the ugly duckling;" but this may be fiction, as are nine-tenths of the thousand anecdotes that go the rounds in Denmark to-day. For purposes inspired by general curiosity it is hardly necessary to know more about him than what his autobiography itself relates. The book is heavy with detail, but this is in accord with its author's life. Trivial, too, are his books of travel, which utterly lack the quality with which any good observer

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would have been able to redeem them. There are five or six little productions which will for many, many years to come constitute the foundation of his fame. Perhaps "The Story of a Mother" is, after all, the completest of these, and perhaps "Picture Book Without Pictures" (an odious title in English) takes second place.

The ease and felicity of Andersen's style was perceived at a late day by J. P. Jacobsen, who found in it a source of inspiration. Almost from that moment a new prose was born in Danish literature; the language acquired grace, the beauty of color, the freshness of simplicity. Andersen came upon this blessing unawares. In shaping his speech to the child's ear he struck the chord that was to vibrate toward every artistic sense and yield new values. It is unfortunate, however, that our translations lack the dainty quality of the original.

He seemed to know America, where his fairy tales had made him dear to the heart of all young readers. When preparations for the hundredth anniversary of our independence were going on, Andersen was cordially invited to visit this country. He had abundantly the desire to come, but not the courage. The gruff Atlantic, with its shadow of storms (and seasickness), was too much for him. He had to decline the invitation. Still, during his variegated career he met many Americans, who had always something to tell him about Niagara, the Yellowstone Park, our vast commercial centers, etc. The author was an inquisitive auditor, who never tired of listening to descriptions of foreign parts he had never seen.

With all his limitations as a student of the living life, Hans Christian Andersen was a considerable man. There was a little world in his soul, a world of little streets, little houses, little inhabitants. It was complete, however, and though from his altitude he could see but a slight part of the immense human spectacle, he faithfully strove to understand what he did see. His eye never caught sight of the tremendous drama of passion, of the play of the will; to those huge complications which may arise in us and around us he was a stranger.

But verily there is many a philosopher whom Andersen's simple knowledge of children would benefit. The energy of the little boy profits by an acquaintance with the deeds of a Napoleon; and the heart of the child will ever be fuller for a friendship with Hans Christian Andersen.

On Mr. Bryce's "America Revisited"[1]

By Clyde Furst

Accept, thrice welcomed and thrice welcome guest,
Our thanks for thy new reading of this West.
The roar of factories and the rush of trade,
The pomp and power of riches newly made,
Have all but dulled our ears and dimmed our sight
To the deep, silent movement of the right.
We followed still the faith, yet did not see
Our best advancement, until shown by thee
Our growth in learning, kindliness, and truth,
In love of sweetness and of light, in sooth,—
The substance of our hopes. Our gratitude
To thee, past prophet, present seer of good.
May the ripe years return thee to our shore,
To point us onward, upward, as before.

[1] See The Outlook for March 25 and April 1.

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A History of Science[1]

THE name of Dr. Henry Smith Williams, with whom as editor of "The Historians' History of the World" many of our readers are acquainted, now appears in connection with another interesting historical effort—an attempt to survey the evolution of science from the crude beginnings of the distant past to the wonderful achievements of latter days. In point of scope, method, and treatment, this work, to which has been given the title "A History of Science," differs so essentially from "The Historians' History of the World" that, although in some respects a parallel might be drawn, any comparison for critical purposes would be valueless and even misleading. In "A History of Science" Dr. Williams appears not as editor but as author, and in five, practically in four, volumes, each averaging about three hundred pages, seeks to present in detail and as a unified whole the successive stages in the organization of knowledge. Ambitious and difficult as this undertaking is, demanding the solution of many intricate problems and the avoidance of dangerous pitfalls, it has been carried to completion with a commendable degree of success. Error is by no means absent, and some of the defects which the work betrays are surprising, but, viewing it in the large, it must be agreed that its excellencies far outweigh its faults and that it is of genuine value to both student and general reader. Two features adding appreciably to its interest and usefulness are the presence of frequent recapitulary passages and the inclusion of brief biographical sketches of the standard-bearers of science in its march through the centuries. The style is picturesque, fluent, and clear. The method—for the first four volumes, the volumes constituting the historical survey proper—is logical and convincing, and is based on the philosophic conception of the unity of nature and the continuity of the stream of history. "It is our task," declares Dr. Williams, "not merely to show what these [fundamental] principles [of human knowledge] are, but to point out how they have been discovered by our predecessors. We shall trace the growth of these ideas from their first vague beginnings. We shall see how vagueness of thought gave way to precision; how a general truth once grasped and formulated was found to be a stepping-stone to other truths. We shall see that there are no isolated facts, no isolated principles, in nature; that each part of our story is linked by indissoluble bands with that which goes before and with that which comes after."

A brief outline must suffice. The first chapter of the opening volume is devoted to a discussion, and an extremely interesting discussion it is, of the scientific attainments of primeval man. Then follow three chapters on Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Phœnician science, the remainder of the volume being given over to an exposition of the science of the classical world. Throughout this volume the chronological mode of presentation prevails, but, beginning with the second volume, the treatment is a combination of the chronological and topical, an ingenious arrangement whereby the interests of unity and continuity are conserved in face of the constantly increasing expansiveness of the subject. The second volume covers the centuries intervening between the classical and modern periods, and is introduced by an illuminative statement of the factors operating against scientific productivity during the Middle Ages. A chapter on mediæval science among the Arabs also precedes the main theme —the part played in the laying of the foundations of the "Modern Temple of Science" by Roger Bacon, Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Paracelsus, Etienne, Vesalius, Harvey, Leeuwenhoek, Francis Bacon, Descartes, Leibnitz, Boyle, Newton, Huygens, Gray, Dufay, Franklin, Linnæus, and their contemporaries of scientific renown,

[1] *A History of Science.* By Henry Smith Williams, M.D., LL.D., Assisted by Edward H. Williams, M.D. In 5 vols. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York.

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Alchemy and astrology, those "pseudo-sciences" so intimately related to chemistry and astronomy, are not forgotten, and form the subject matter of an instructive chapter. With the third volume the distinctively modern period is entered. In this and the volume immediately following it such sciences as palæontology, geology, meteorology, archæology, anthropology, and experimental psychology become subjects of discussion for the first time, the survey of the older sciences being continued, side by side with them, from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day.

The fifth volume, as is indicated by its title—"Aspects of Recent Science"—has also to do with the modern period. But the title fails to convey an adequate idea of the contents, which are astonishingly diversified. "I have thought," says Dr. Williams, "that those who have not been privileged to visit the great teachers in person might like to meet some of them at second hand." Accordingly we find intermingled with statements of the more recent scientific triumphs and of scientific problems still defying solution, descriptions of various scientific institutions and accounts of visits to eminent twentieth-century scientists. These descriptions and accounts are unquestionably entertaining, but it may be seriously asked whether they should find place in a history conceived on the plan so advantageously followed in the preceding volumes, which, it must be added, are also distinctly superior in point of accuracy, and of dignity and gracefulness of expression. It is unfortunate, too, that in this closing volume should appear a tendency—also visible, though much less markedly, in the third and fourth volumes—which amounts to a serious blemish: the tendency to focus attention on the progress of scientific endeavor in Europe, to the neglect of scientific attainment in other parts of the world.

Altogether, the fifth volume, in striking contrast to its predecessors, must be accounted ill advised and weak. Not for this reason the work as a whole should be condemned. On the contrary, as has been said, the excellencies far outweigh the faults. So that, even with this final volume, the "History" must be regarded as a welcome addition to the literature on its fascinating and important subject.

Five Volumes of Sermons[1]

A GOOD sermon is rarely the best reading. For, first, the sermon depends for its power on the personality of the preacher—"the man behind the gun"—while the book is largely impersonal. It is only rarely, as in the essays of Charles Lamb or Robert Louis Stevenson, that the personality makes itself apparent in the essay. And, second, the object of the sermon is generally impression rather than instruction; it aims not to furnish a new truth but to impress an old and familiar one. The art of preaching, therefore, partly consists in repetition that does not seem to be repetition, while the book requires rather progression, because its aim is exposition. These two distinctions, especially the second, ought always to be borne in mind by both the reader and the critic of sermons. It is as sermons, not as essays, that we consider the five volumes before us.

"Six Incursions into Some Theologic Fastnesses" perhaps ought not to be called sermons, though the author on his title-page suggests—

> "Perhaps it may turn out a song,
> Perhaps turn out a sermon."

In fact, it does not turn out to be exactly either: rather *quasi* theological essays,

[1] *Six Incursions (By a Predatory Pew) into Some Theologic Fastnesses.* By Edward Augustus Jenks, A.M. Robert Grier Cooke, New York.
The Christian Philosophy of Life. Sermons Preached in the Dartmouth College Church. By Samuel Penniman Leeds, Pastor 1860-1900. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
The Evangelistic Note. By W. J. Dawson. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York.
The Forgiveness of Sins and Other Sermons. By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. A. C. Armstrong & Co., New York.
The Past a Prophecy of the Future, and Other Sermons. By the Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., LL.D. Presbyterian Book Store, Pittsburg, Pa.

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though they have a certain sermonic tone, because a spiritual rather than a purely intellectual aim. They come from the pen of a man who has both read and thought, but whose reading, we judge, has been somewhat discursive, and whose thinking is somewhat disconnected. He is an evolutionist, and yet he accepts the Eden story as history and as explaining the entrance of sin into the world. In one essay he appears to be a devout rationalist; in another he appears to take for granted the old distinction between natural and revealed religion, and seeks to escape from the perplexities which philosophy brings him into by the conclusion that on this too difficult subject we must accept revelation without questioning. In one essay he appears to accept the divine immanence, in another to hold to a God apart from the universe and working *ab extra* upon it. He is often suggestive, but also generally inconclusive. His book will afford a help to some thinkers, but not a resting-place to any.

Quite different is "The Christian Philosophy of Life." Dr. Leeds was for forty years pastor in a college town where the village church and the college church were one. That is a very difficult position to fill, and he filled it. These sermons preached in Dartmouth College Church are well characterized by President Tucker in an Introduction, by the statement that "throughout his long term of service, and amid all the changes incident to it, Dr. Leeds kept pace with the growth of the mind and conscience with which he had to do." They are characterized, we quote again, by "the intellectual hospitality, the fine temper, the spiritual insight, the assured faith, and the single purpose of the man who wrought them." The combination of intellectual hospitality and assured faith is rare, and it is the combination which is necessary, absolutely necessary, for a college preacher. The reader may get a little notion of the preacher's spirit from the mere titles of some of his sermons, such as "Loyalty to Truth," "Christian Agnosticism," "Conventional Morality."

"The Evangelistic Note" takes its title from the autobiographical Introduction, which incidentally gives both incentive to and guidance for a distinctively evangelistic ministry. Mr. Dawson, minister of the Congregational church in Highbury, London, and also a man of mark in literary circles, became aware of a missing note in his ministry, and a feeling of unreality. Circumstances led him into evangelistic work, first in Brighton and then in his own church, in which the missing note and the conviction of reality were regained. It was his relation of this experience to Dr. Hillis that brought about the short period of evangelistic work in which Mr. Dawson engaged last autumn in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The discourses he then gave are here reproduced from the stenographic report in the Brooklyn "Eagle," with two others. The sequel of all this is the evangelistic tour which Mr. Dawson is now making in this country. To him the missing note in churches nowadays is that of evangelistic fervor. The spirit of Christian propaganda seems lacking in cultured congregations. But he holds that culture and evangelism should go together, as in Henry Drummond and in John Wesley, and that liberalism in theology should not be reproached with cutting the nerve of spiritual power. In Mr. Dawson's case it certainly does not. There has been frequent reference lately to "the new Evangelism," and some discussion as to what it is. It is well exhibited in these discourses.

"The Forgiveness of Sins" is the title of the first of the sermons which make up our fourth volume, sermons preached by Dr. George Adam Smith, in the pulpit of Queen's Cross Free Church, Aberdeen. If we were to characterize them in a phrase, it would be by saying that they are spiritual expositions of theology. They are not argumentative, certainly not polemical; they are not hortatory; they are Biblical in substance but not textual. They are expositions of truth pervaded by a spiritual consciousness and directed to spiritual ends. Take, for example, the first sermon: it is not the elucidation of a theory of forgiveness, though a theory of forgiveness as something far other and more than the remission of penalty is the basis on which it is con-

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structed; it is something more than an interpretation of texts, although some interpretations are given that are full of suggestive value; it is not at all hortatory, the truth is left to do its own work in the life of the hearer. It is an interpretation of the experience of forgiveness, by one who is able to interpret the lives of others because his own life is a rich and varied one. The sermons have something of the intellectual qualities of Bushnell and something of the spiritual vitality of Phillips Brooks, with a style simpler and clearer than the one and less rich and fluent but more epigrammatic and awakening than the other. They constitute good models for the minister and good reading for the thoughtful and the devout layman.

"The Past a Prophecy of the Future" indicates its character by its title. It is a volume of sermons which are rather expository than homiletical in their character. That is, they are rather expositions of theological truth than discussions of conduct, whether of the inner or the outer life, and are aimed rather to relieve intellectual difficulties than to move upon the emotions or directly influence the will. It is difficult in a sentence to characterize the volume. We may attempt to do so by saying that the author occupies a conservative position, but apprehends the modern movement of thought and turns his face toward the future. He endeavors to show that in the old were the germs and premonitions of the new, and that the old and the new are not as inconsistent as sometimes they have been deemed to be. The text of the whole volume might be that which is the text of the first two sermons, "That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done." To those who are reluctant to give up the traditional views, and yet are impressed by the power of much in the modern view, this volume will be of practical help, because it will enable them to see a spiritual unity under all diversities of doctrine.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht (Das). By Heinrich Zschokke. Edited by Charles H. Handschin, Ph.D. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4×6½ in. 130 pages.

American Girl in Munich (An): Impressions of a Music Student. By Mabel W. Daniels. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 286 pages.

A series of bright and entertaining letters to a girl friend at home convey these "impressions of a music student" during a year's residence in the Bavarian capital. They have a flavor of genuineness quite apart from their mention of real notabilities and places—so much so that one almost believes the little romance they chronicle with the descriptions and impressions is also a "truly story."

Ancient World (The): Outlines of Ancient History. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 244 pages. $1, net.

Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White. In 2 vols. With Portraits. The Century Co., New York. 6½×10 in. $7.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Belted Seas (The). By Arthur Colton. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 312 pages. $1.50.

This is of the grotesque, distorted type of humorous story to which Mr. O. Henry's "Cabbages and Kings" belongs. Like that book, also, this is a most ingenious welding together into one narrative of queer incidents already utilized by the author in short-story form. Mr. Colton's sea captain, who when he was young and lively looked at life as like a Bartlett pear, juicy wherever you choose to bite in, has singular adventures at sea and on land—at one time, for instance, he keeps hotel in a vessel stranded in the mountains of South America, where it was carried by a tidal wave; and his observations on human nature are often shrewd and amusing.

Bethel-el-Bethel: A New Old Story. By Mattie Sanford Bull. The Eastern Publishing Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 98 pages. $1.

Bible Etchings and Immortality. By Camden M. Cobern, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 60 pages. 50c.

From the standpoint of the idealizing mind that described an etching as "Homer in a nutshell" Dr. Cobern's designation of the Biblical intimations of immortality as "etchings" is aptly chosen. It is especially appropriate to his treatment of Old Testament passages in the line that Jesus took, when he

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quoted to the Sadducees a text in which only an anointed eye could see the truth of immortality implied. The consolatory character of this little book makes it a suitable gift to a bereaved friend.

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. Under Supervision of George C. Williamson, Litt.D. (New Edition, Revised and Enlarged.) Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. Vol. V., S-Z. 8¼×11 in. 419 pages. $6.

The last volume of an important and well-executed work, which will be reviewed later.

Candidate (The). By Joseph A. Altsheler. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. 429 pages. $1.50.

Obviously Mr. Bryan is meant here, although this candidate's campaign is crowned with success. There is, of course, a love story along with the politics; but from a literary point of view there is little to be said of the book, which merits attention chiefly through giving publicity to campaign methods from apparently authentic "inside" information.

Celibates' Club (The). By I. Zangwill. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 633 pages. $1.50.

That Mr. Zangwill has humor in the truest sense was abundantly proved by his "King of Schnorrers." Here, however, whimsicality too elaborate and often forced is made to take the place of humor, with the result that the reader is often puzzled and sometimes wearied. Incongruities in matrimony form the real subject, and at the end there are neither bachelors nor old maids left unengaged in the two clubs which furnish the material for the two parts of the book.

Christmas Carol and the Cricket on the Hearth (A). By Charles Dickens. Edited by James M. Sawin and Ida M. Thomas. (Pocket American and English Classics.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×5¾ in. 197 pages. 25c.

Der Schuss von der Kanzel. By Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. Edited by Martin H. Haertel. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4¼×6¾ in. 141 pages. 35c. (Postage, 5c.)

Dictionary of Saintly Women (A). By Agnes B. C. Dunbar. In 2 vols. Vol. I. The Macmillan Co., New York. 6×9¼ in. 480 pages. $3.50, net.

The author has collected the facts and legends concerning thousands of Catholic saints, canonized or beatified maids and matrons, from ancient Britain to the Japan of the seventeenth century, their austerities and charities, their martyrdoms and miracles. Incredible and unsuited to the modern mind as many of these legends are, yet they served, like the Biblical stories of Daniel among the lions and his friends in the furnace, to confirm the steadfastness of faithful souls, and deserve the honorable place in the Church which we give in our museums to the armor of the mediæval knights.

Digressions of Polly (The). By Helen Rowland. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 263 pages. $1.50.

Had this been called "The Polly Dialogues," the fact of its resemblance to a certain popular English book would hardly have been more obvious. Nevertheless, if it is lacking in originality, this American edition is a very creditable performance; for the conversations of the fair and frivolous Polly and her fiancé, never dull, are often unusually diverting.

Dodge's Advanced Geography. By Richard Elwood Dodge. Part I. **The Principles of Geography.** Part II. **Comparative Geography of the Continents.** Illustrated. Rand, McNally & Co., New York. 8×10 in. 352 pages.

Dryad (The). By Justin Huntly McCarthy. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 314 pages. $1.50.

History and myth are inseparably interwoven in this romance of fourteenth-century Athens under the rule of a French duke, whose son Rainouart, the hero, loves Argathona, last of the dryads. The author stretches his mediæval panorama over three hundred pages before bringing the lovers to the climax of happiness.

Elims of Life and Other Sermons. By Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8¾ in. 256 pages. $1, net.

These are discourses by a prominent Congregational pastor in England. The slight acquaintance of the average reader with the book of Exodus requires the explanation that Elim was a refreshing oasis in the desert. As a preacher Mr. Jones is of the general type of thought with which Mr. Dawson, of London, has made many American audiences familiar. In these discourses the spiritual and ethical element predominates, the form is plain and lucid, the aim is practical. What the printed page cannot convey is the personal impression of the man behind the words.

First Wardens and Other Poems (The). By William J. Neidig. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 89 pages. $1, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut (The). By Edward Warren Capen, Ph.D. (Columbia University Studies in Political Science, Vol. XXII.) The Columbia University Press (The Macmillan Co.), New York. 6×9¾ in. 520 pages. $3.

The historical study of the treatment of the poor in Connecticut is of especial interest because the Connecticut poor law affords a full view of the town system of relief as opposed to State and county activity. In his present monograph Dr. Capen has provided us not only with a most exhaustive exposition of the development of the law from early colonial days, but also with a useful commentary on its workings, pointing out clearly its advantages and defects. "The experience of Connecticut," he sums up, "seems to indicate that the town system is practicable for the care of the true pauper, but inadequate for providing for special classes." The suggestion of the State Board of Charities that by the installation of a district system of relief the dangers inherent in the town system would be prevented while too great centralization would be avoided, meets with his approval, but he gives it as his belief that "until the temper of the average Connecticut town changes radically, there is litttle chance that

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this will be done." The student desirous of prosecuting independent research will derive much assistance from the excellent bibliography appended to the text. In the way of indexing, too, the work is also complete, there being, in addition to the customary subject index, an index to decisions cited and another to statutes cited.

Johnny Reb and Billy Yank. By Alexander Hunter. Illustrated. The Neale Publishing Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 720 pages. $3, net.

The author served as a Confederate soldier under Pickett and later in the famous Black Horse Cavalry. His narrative is roughly and crudely written, but it has a good deal of raw material of interest, and tells with some animation stories of camp and battlefield.

Madcap Cruise (A). By Oric Bates. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 4¾×7½ in. 329 pages. $1.50.

An apotheosis of what used to be called Young America, but is now acknowledged to be All America. Two college boys run away with the yacht belonging to the uncle of one of them. This youth being enamored of a maiden who has gone to Europe, and being forbidden by his uncle to follow her, of course does it. The story is cleverly told, remarkably so for the author's first attempt, and is entertaining in spite of the superabundance of slang.

Makers of Europe: Outlines of European History. By E. M. Wilmot-Buxton. With Maps. (Second Edition.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 260 pages. $1, net.

My Country and Other Verse. By Robert Whitaker. The James H. Barry Co., San Francisco. 5×7¾ in. 210 pages.

My Mamie Rose. By Owen Kildare. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5×8 in. 303 pages. $1.

We have already spoken of this quite unusual book, which now comes to us in a new edition.

Myths and Symbols; or, Aboriginal Religions in America. By Stephen D. Peet, Ph.D. Illustrated. The American Antiquarian, Chicago. 6×9¼ in. 444 pages.

In this his latest work Dr. Peet's object is to ascertain the religious beliefs from which the various myths and symbols arose concerning which so much is already in print. The inquiry brings out the correspondence between the aboriginal religions in both hemispheres, and the analogies recognizable between the myths and symbols in both, together with the fact of a progress in both, as civilization advanced, toward higher conceptions of divinity—a progress, however, that here stopped far short of the attainment made in the Eastern world. The volume is profusely illustrated.

Only Letters. By Francis I. Maule. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 325 pages.

In the approaching season of the American exodus to Europe, this gay record of pleasant travel, written by an intelligent man to his brother, will prove a welcome addition to the books set aside to read on the steamship. From England, Russia, Egypt, and here and there between, the writer gathered impressions. He is gifted with an extraordinary vocabulary, keen perceptions, and a vast treasury of real American humor, sometimes a trifle exasperating, but never by any chance dull.

Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. By P. A. Lambert and H. A. Foering. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 104 pages.

Prince of Lovers (A). By Sir William Magnay. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 326 pages. $1.50.

When we are told that the Duke's daughter is to marry a Prince whom she has never seen, and therefore hates; and when an unknown Lieutenant from afar appears, makes the acquaintance of the noble lady surreptitiously, and promptly gains her love, we all know who the brave officer will turn out to be. The lovers have many narrow escapes and thrilling adventures on their road to the inevitable happy ending. These are told with spirit, and the romance is not a bad specimen of its type.

Seléné. By Amélie Rives. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×8 in. 89 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Story of a Literary Career. By Ella Wheeler Wilcox. With Description of Mrs. Wilcox's Home and Life by Ella Giles Ruddy. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass. 5½×7½ in. 60 pages. 50c.

Story of the Welsh Revival (The). By Arthur Goodrich, B.A., Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D., W. T. Stead, Rev. W. W. Moore, Rev. Evan Hopkins, and Others. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 93 pages. Paper bound, 25c.

Through Isle and Empire. By Vicomte Robert d'Humières. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 300 pages. $1.40, net.

The psychology of the Englishman is a curious subject for a French writer, but it is one very entertainingly treated by Vicomte d'Humières in the volume under consideration. He divides his book into four parts, following his quarry out of England into Egypt, India, and through Deccan, but always in amiable pursuit; witness Mr. Kipling's indorsement in a prefatory letter. Readers may differ in opinion of the author's estimate of British character, but all will agree as to the charming quality of the recorded impressions and sketches of travel.

University of Chicago Decennial Publications. First Series. Vols. I. & II. **The President's Report.** Vol. III. **Theology, Philosophy, Education.** Vol. IV. **Political Economy, Political Science, History, Sociology.** Vol. V. **Semitic Languages, Biblical Greek.** Vol. VI. **Greek, Latin, Comparative Philology, Classical Archæology.** Vol. VII. **Romance, Germanic English.** Vol. VIII. **Astronomy and Astrophysics.** Vol. IX. **Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics.** Vol. X. **The Biological Sciences.** The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 8½×11 in. Price of the 10 vols. will be about $40.

What is History? Five Lectures on the Modern Science of History. By Karl Lamprecht, Ph.D., LL.D. Translated from the German by E. A. Andrews. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 227 pages.

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Correspondence

Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.

Mr. Rockefeller's Gift

I.—Should the American Board Have Received the Gifts of Slaveholders? A Past Controversy with a Present Lesson

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The question whether good gifts should be received from bad sources was raised in the old anti-slavery days, and then, as now, it was agitated in connection with contributions which were made to the American Board of Missions. The point discussed was whether the American Board should receive contributions from slaveholders; protest was also made against the sending of agents to solicit contributions for missions in the slaveholding States.

The argument made then by the Abolitionists affords illuminating points of contrast, as well as resemblance, when compared with the reasonings now of the remonstrants against the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's donation.

The Prudential Committee in 1838 had issued two letters on the subject. Their positions were defined as follows: "1. The Board in its corporate capacity, as a benevolent Christian institution, has nothing directly to do with slavery. 2. The Board and its officers do not profess to know, and cannot generally know, the character and motives of those who contribute to its funds, or the sources of their income." They argued further from the impracticability of their deciding, "How much of sin must be involved in the acquisition of a man's property before we shall be bound to reject it?" Again, "How large a portion of a man's income must be the fruit of his wrong-doing—or, as in the case before us—of slaveholding, before we are bound to reject it?" They also raised the question whether the donations of slaveholders were "the only donations which must be rejected." Also they asked, "Before what tribunal shall the individual donors be brought, and on what evidence shall we rely?" "Shall every treasurer be constituted an inquisitor on this subject?"

The noticeable omission in these letters is the lack of any direct and decided expression of sympathy with the anti-slavery feeling. In this respect the reply of the present Prudential Committee is decidedly different in its expression of sympathy with the protestants in regard to "the moral issue they have raised."

A reply to these letters of the Prudential Committee was published in 1838 by that famous Abolitionist, Gerrit Smith. I quote extracts enough to show his reasonings and the divergence between his position and that of the present remonstrants against the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's donation. He said: "I have never supposed that God requires his treasury to be closed against the contributions of wicked men. . . . Nor have I ever supposed that the refusal of the keepers of his treasury to receive improperly and fraudulently obtained gifts is God's appointed means for precluding such gifts." He agreed with the Prudential Committee concerning "the impracticability of determining on, and still more clearly the impracticability of applying, a rule under which some contributions should be received and others rejected. The following is worth quoting in full: "My proposition, to which, as to other general propositions, there are exceptions, is that the keepers of the Lord's treasury are to have it open to the gifts of all. But the keepers, and in that capacity your Board, or the Board of any other religious society, may justly be considered, are required to do much more than to have it open to the gifts of all. They are as clearly bound to admonish their hearers to give right as preachers of the Gospel are to admonish their hearers to hear right; for, accessible as the Lord's treasury should be to the gifts of all, it no more follows that those gifts are all acceptable than that they who visit the house of public worship are all acceptable worshipers. Furthermore, they are to adapt their admonitions to the character of their patrons. If, for instance, it be the characteristic fault of your New England contributors that they give grudgingly, then your Board are especially to inculcate on that portion of their contributors the duty of giving cheerfully and willingly. If deceitfulness be the peculiar and striking blemish upon the gifts you obtain from the State of New York—if your New York patrons put you off with contributions unworthy of their means—if, like Ananias and Sapphira, they 'keep back part' of what their professions pledge them to give, then your Board are to endeavor to impress their New York donors with the divine abhorrence of deceitful offerings. So also, if there be a section of our country in which they who contribute to the treasury of your Board are robbers, the Board are not to fail of visiting that section with their abundant and solemn testimonies against the crime of insulting God with sacrifices which are the fruit of robbery." He proceeded to argue that the slaveholders should be regarded as robbers, and that the Board had not done its whole duty in suitably

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admonishing those contributors. He added that if the Board should "deal honestly with its slaveholding contributors," "an actual case in which they will be called on to decide whether it is proper for them to receive a slaveholder's gift will very seldom, and most probably never, occur." He sums up his reasoning under three heads: "(1) The Lord's treasury is not the place for money which is fraudulently obtained. (2) Such money is not to be kept out of His treasury by an inquisitorial examination of the character of the gifts which are offered to it, and by the adoption and enforcement of rules for the absolute exclusion of a portion of them. (3) It is to be kept out by faithful and Scriptural appeals to the corrupt contributors to it; by throwing them back upon their own consciences; and by rebuking them of the sin, and convincing them of the unacceptableness of their offerings." He urged the Board to oppose slavery, not by making discriminations between gifts, but by taking a pronounced position on the subject of slavery. He would not have the Board send agents after "Southern plunder." No one can read that pamphlet of Gerrit Smith without feeling the glow of his ethical feeling against slavery; but his feeling did not lead the Abolitionist into any confusion of reasoning about the function of the contribution-box. He would not ask the Board to support his cause indirectly by respecting persons bringing their gifts, but directly, by taking right ground on the slavery question. He did not raise the anti-slavery issue ineffectually at a wrong point. Did not the Abolition protestant reason well?

For several years in succession petitions upon this subject came up to the Board, until in 1845 the question, in this phase of it, seems to have been settled by this declaration of the Board: "It is very manifest that we cannot properly examine into the motives of those who sustain our operations, and that an attempt to do this would be marked with absurdity, and would plunge us into difficulties from which we could not be easily extricated. It will not, we trust, be overlooked that, in reply to previous petitions, the Board has repeatedly and very frankly declared that they can sustain no relation to slavery which implies approbation of the system, and, as a Board, can have no connection or sympathy with it, 'plainly intimating that we consider it one of the obvious evils which exist in the community, but the removal of which, though we regard it as an object of fervent desire and prayer, does not fall within our province as a missionary Board.'"

Do this history, the reasoning of the Abolition remonstrant, and the final action of the Board, suggest a reconciling principle in the present confusion?

NEWMAN SMYTH.

New Haven, Connecticut.

II.—The Case of the Protestants

[From a number of letters received by The Outlook criticising its advocacy of the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's gift to the American Board, we select the following for publication, because it puts in a concise way substantially all the arguments in all the letters against the reception of Mr. Rockefeller's gift. We think our correspondent is mistaken as to the facts in his first statement. Fuller editorial treatment of the case will be found elsewhere in this issue.—THE EDITORS.]

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Those of us who entered our protest against the American Board's accepting the Rockefeller gift are grateful for your warm appreciation of our motive, and for admitting that "it indicates a great ethical advance over the prevailing sentiment in the churches fifty years ago." Surely it is worth much to register this wholesome movement toward a cleaner business life. Yet when you face this particular gift you refuse to join in our protest. Now let me put the case from the other side.

First—If the money was not directly solicited, it was in effect sought. Enough has been said to show this beyond a reasonable doubt.

Second—A letter of profound thanks for the notable and timely gift was sent to Mr. Rockefeller, as it should have been. The Board certainly have honored Mr. Rockefeller for the gift, and they would deserve our contempt if they had not.

Third—The Standard Oil Company is under indictment before the bar of public opinion for methods in business which are iniquitous. There can be no escape from this. Not to be condemned by a court is no acquittal of a moral crime of necessity. Wickedness may be within the boundary of law.

Fourth—Mr. Rockefeller can no more be separated from the Standard Oil methods than he can run away from his shadow, at least until he so informs the public, which he has not done. Therefore he is the concrete embodiment of the unrighteous methods of his company, said to be largely his creation.

Fifth—It is not unfair, then, to condemn him as the exponent of methods in business which can have no place in the kingdom of God.

Sixth—It is not needful to scrutinize every dollar in dealing with moral education of a people; but it is of supreme importance to set forth the principle in clear and effective ways that the world is not to be Christianized by money gained by trampling upon the sacred rights of men and by methods utterly selfish.

JOHN G. TAYLOR.

Arlington Heights, Massachusetts.

Christian Comity

To the Editors of The Outlook:

With reference to your news item on Christian Comity, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of "the change of the Congregational Church at North Brookfield, Massachusetts, from the Congre-

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gational communion to the Protestant Episcopal communion," there is a difference between Bishop Vinton's words of welcome and the Council's words of leave-taking. The Bishop received the members of the Congregational church "not as coming spiritually stripped and bare, but as bringing *rich Christian experience and character*." The Council advised dropping from the rolls the names of those "who express their purpose to enter individually," as upon a first confession of Christian faith, into relationship with any Church which does not recognize Congregational letters of dismission as possessing significance." These words of the Council refer, of course, to the Episcopal Church. In simple fact, Mr. Editor, they are not true. That they are conscientiously believed by many is doubtless true. In maintaining the custom of confirmation the Episcopal Church does not say that it is a first confession of Christian faith, nor that a prior confession or testimony thereto "possesses no significance." Adults who are baptized in the Episcopal Church make a full personal confession of Christian faith. But before being entered as communicants they allow a Bishop to invoke a blessing upon them with the old and beautiful symbolic custom of laying on of hands. Confirmation on non-Episcopal Christians is no more considered a first confession of Christian faith than the confirmation of many who were baptized in the Episcopal Church. Christians from one part of the universal Church who desire to unite with that part known as the Episcopal Church, in the words of Bishop Vinton, are "welcomed not as coming spiritually stripped and bare, but as bringing rich Christian experience and character." R. F. H.

South Norwalk, Connecticut.

A Colored Young Men's Christian Association

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Colored Men's Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York City was organized by the Rev. Charles T. Walker, D.D., in Mount Olivet Baptist Church, in February, 1901. From the very beginning the work gave promise of great success, and it was not very long before the temporary headquarters of the Branch, 132 West Fifty-third Street, were found to be altogether inadequate for their purposes; accordingly, in August, 1903, the present site, 252–254 West Fifty-third Street, was purchased, which, with the alterations and furnishings, cost about $35,000. The present indebtedness of the Branch is $29,000, one-half of which is guaranteed by the Board of Directors provided we raise the other half by July 1st of this year.

For the purpose of bringing our work more clearly before the public, and with the hope of raising an amount sufficient to make good the promise of the Board, we have arranged a great Jubilee Mass-Meeting at Carnegie Hall on Sunday afternoon, May 7, at 2:30 o'clock, at which we expect addresses from Bishops Henry C. Potter, Charles H. Fowler, Alexander Walters, Dr. Robert S. MacArthur, Dr. S. P. Cadman, and Professor Booker T. Washington. We appeal to every lover of mankind and to every one who has at heart the betterment of the colored young men of the city of New York to contribute on or before the first Sunday in May at least two dollars towards the fund. Contributions may be sent to our Treasurer, Mr. John F. Comey, 252 West Fifty-third Street, who will acknowledge the same.

The work already accomplished justifies us in making this appeal, as well as being indicative of future usefulness. There are now four hundred regular members, and the attendance on Sunday services for the year has been eight thousand. * *

What Shall be Done with the Theater?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I one day heard a conversation among three young women as to a play they had heard the evening before. One of the number, who but seldom attended the theater, spoke of the immodesty and even indecency of the costumes of the chorus girls and of the coarse allusions which were made and would shock one to hear any place but in the theater. The other girls, who were constant attendants, said simultaneously, "Oh, you're so innocent!" She was, but why were they not? Simply and solely because they, by the constant hearing and seeing of things portrayed on the stage, had become hardened to things impure and had lost gradually the refinement the other still had.

So much good has been done in all lines by the church people of our land that it seems strange that no concerted effort has been made to purify the stage. The harm it does to young men especially is incalculable. But on this we all agree, and can we not also agree to take some active measures that will compel playwrights to write clean plays and managers to book only those that are?

If the women's clubs of every city in the country would do their part and the churches their part, there is but little doubt that a reform of the theater could be effected.

They could induce the editors of the daily papers to let the public know about the purity of the lines, the action, and the costuming as well as the information always given by the dramatic critic, and if the people would pledge themselves to attend only those plays which were wholesome and pure, the playwrights and managers would soon cater to the better element.

I should not write these suggestions were it not for the hope that those who read it will feel it their duty to take the initiative in their club or church and begin a most needed reform. C. F. F.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

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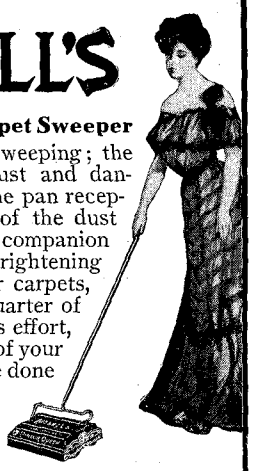

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There are no fairer set of men on earth than the doctors, and when they find they have been in error they are usually apt to make honest and manly confession of the fact.

A case in point is that of an eminent practitioner, one of the good old school, who lives in Texas. His plain, unvarnished tale needs no dressing up:

"I had always had an intense prejudice, which I can now see was unwarrantable and unreasonable, against all muchly advertised foods. Hence, I never read a line of the many 'ads.' of Grape-Nuts, nor tested the food till last winter.

"While in Corpus Christi for my health, and visiting my youngest son, who has four of the ruddiest, healthiest little boys I ever saw, I ate my first dish of Grape-Nuts food for supper with my little grandsons. I became exceedingly fond of it and have eaten a package of it every week since, and find it a delicious, refeshing and strengthening food, leaving no ill effects whatever, causing no eructations (with which I was formerly much troubled), no sense of fullness, nausea, nor distress of stomach in any way.

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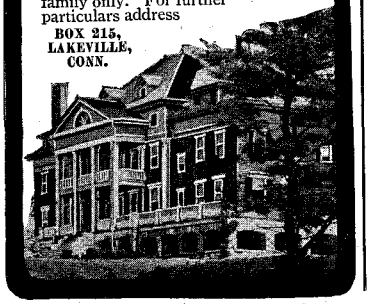

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For rent for the summer of 1905, "Breeze Hill," a modern summer cottage at
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To rent for the summer, furnished modern houses, nine to sixteen rooms and bath, perfect drainage, high service water. Magnificent location, overlooking both ocean and harbor; convenient to trolley and railroad. But two hours from Boston. Address S. E. JENNISON, General Manager, Kittery Point, Me.

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Nine rooms and bath, furnished for housekeeping. Centrally located. For particulars write Capt. THOS. CLARK, State House, Augusta, Maine.

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Fine summer or all-year residence, with table. House, 16 rooms and bath; running water, furnace heat; beautiful lawns and shade trees; 4 acres land; no prettier place in New England. E. M. YATES,
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Near York Harbor, two cottages. All improvements. 7,121, The Outlook.

YORK HARBOR, ME. Several finely furnished cottages to let; good location. Prices, $250 to $1,000. W. J. SIMPSON.

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Near colleges; best locality; 13 rooms, piazza; airy, sunny. By the year. 5,891, Outlook.

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CAPE COD.—To let, furnished cottage. Seven chambers; hot water; fine bathing; pines; charming views. Miss MARY BRADLEY, 374 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.

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Handsomely furnished, complete. Lot 180 ft. front on ocean (can be divided). Sea-wall, sandy bathing beach; no mosquitoes. House in complete order. Modern conveniences. Interior finish select Georgia pine. Pure spring water piped through house. Stable, 3 stalls, on another lot. Can sell without furnishings or stable. Great inducement on price below value. Apply NORTON BROTHERS, Attorneys, 519 Mooney Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.

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Handsomely furnished house for rent in **FALMOUTH,** where the heated south wind is tempered by crossing Vineyard Sound, and where it is always cool. Single beds; hair mattresses; drainage; furnace; home and sea baths; wide veranda; sun parlor.
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MASSACHUSETTS

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IN THE BERKSHIRE HILLS
20 minutes' drive from Great Barrington station, one of the best farms in the State; two sets of buildings, one house new, all modern conveniences, 14 rooms; other, good farmer's house; large barns and stables, all in No. 1 condition; 120 acres of rich smooth land, two orchards of apples. Grand view from house. Price $10,500; easy terms.
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A beautifully located farm of 71 acres, adjoining grounds of well-known Groton School; extensive views; stately elms; buildings and land in excellent condition; well stocked; modern tools. Ready for business. R. F. D. and telephone. THEOPHILUS G. SMITH.

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TO LET FOR THE SUMMER
Eight-room house, nicely furnished and piano. Elevation 1,500 feet, commanding beautiful views of lakes and mountains; four miles from Pittsfield, five minutes from trolley.
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14-room House, furnished; view over ocean and harbor; near Eastern Yacht Club. Rent $1,300. LUDWIG GERHARD,
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1¼ miles; farm of 100 acres; house 13 rooms, in good repair, 4 open fireplaces; barn 30x70, running water; fruit; elm shade trees; view; possibilities. R. F. D. Ask for schedule A. 23. Box 2, Sudbury, Mass.

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and stable; newly furnished; pleasantly situated, in

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Eight bedrooms and bath. Apply D. GILDER, 13 East 8th St., New York.

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Furnished Cottages at Moderate Rates for the Summer

One twelve-roomed cottage on high ground, fine shade, good lawn, pure spring water from mountain a half mile distant, hot and cold water, baths, etc. Icehouse (filled), stables and carriage rooms; small garden, if wanted. 60 rods to post-office and station; fine bathing and boating. N. Y. mails and N. Y. daily paper at 8:50 A.M. J. S. MOORE.

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One hour from Boston, boat and electrics. Furnished modern houses, ocean front, open plumbing, fireplaces, broad piazzas. BLODGETT, 780 Beacon St., Boston.

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Furnished Houses to rent. Property of Mrs. Charles C. Beaman.

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Nearest railroad station to above houses is Windsor, Vermont. Fine summer railroad connections.

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Camp Gray Birches

A furnished cottage overlooking Lake Asquam; 6 bedrooms, 3 open fireplaces, large piazzas; fine view of lake and mountains; beautiful woods; bathhouse and sandy bathing beach, rowboat, tennis court, icehouse; stabling if desired; daily mail delivery. Apply to FREDERICK B. ALLEN, 132 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass.

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FOR SALE

On the New London side of Lake Sunapee,

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Beautiful view; lot runs to shore; five chambers, servant's room, bath, fireplace, large attic. 80 feet of broad piazza overlooking lake; small stable. One of the most attractive places on this lovely lake.

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White Mts.

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DESIRABLE COTTAGES
CONNECTED WITH
MAPLEWOOD HOTEL
Maplewood, N. H.

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200-acre milk farm, two miles to station. One two-story house, nine rooms; cottage for farmer. Nice place to spend the summer, at same time make the farm pay good income. Buildings all in good repair; fine spring water. Price $2,600, on easy terms.

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FURNISHED SUMMER COTTAGES FOR RENT
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Furnished House, 9 rooms (including bath room), 45 minutes from foot of Liberty St. N. Y.—C. R. R. of N. J. Address the owner W. J. D. CHANDLER, 155 Second Ave. East Roselle, New Jersey.

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Camps on the Saranac Lakes.
Attractive Camp Sites on Lake Placid
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Desirable furnished cottages in th village of Saranac Lake. All improvements
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